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East Europe Report



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22 APRIL 1987

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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BEIL RECEIVES INDUSTRY REPRESENTATIVES

LD152231 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1825 GMT 15 Mar 87

[Excerpts] Leipzig, 15 Mar (ADN)--Dr Gerhard Beil, the GDR minister for foreign trade, gave a reception in the new town hall on Sunday evening for representatives of industry and commerce from all parts of the world. They had animated conversations with the members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Werner Jarowinsky, Guenther Kleiber, Werner Krolikowski, Guenter Mittage, Gerhard Schuerer and other personages of public life.

Among the guests were the leaders of the government delegations from the USSR, Gennadiy Vedernikov, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers; and the Hungarian People's Republic, Jozsef Marjai, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers; the FRG Federal Minister for Economic Affairs and FDP Chairman Dr Martin Bangemann; the premier of Baden-Wuerttemberg and vice chairman of the CDU, Lothar Spaeth.

Also present were the minister of trade of the Republic of Ghana, Kofi Djini; the minister of foreign trade of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Choe Chong-kun; the minister for machine building of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nedelcu Marin; the vice minister for economy, trade and supply of the Yemen Arabic Republic, Afif 'Abd al-Baragani; the vice minister for foreign trade of the Republic of Cuba, Jose de la Fuente; the state secretary in the Norwegian Ministry for Trade and Shipping, Karin Stoltenberg; the state secretary in the Swedish Ministry of Industry, Jan Carling; and the state secretary in the Ministry of Trade and Industry of Cyprus, Mikhail R. Erotokritos.

/9274

CSO: 2300/230

RAIL TRANSPORTATION GOALS FOR 1987 OUTLINED

East Berlin EISENBAHNPRAXIS in German Vol 31 No 1, 1987 (signed to press 5 Dec 86) pp 4-6

[Article by Helmut Maeding, dep dir German Reichsbahn]

[Text] Consonant with the pronouncements of the 11th SED Party Congress, the Third CC Plenum outlined a policy of ambitious goals for 1987. For the railroad this means the need to reliably and punctually organize commuter and tourist traffic as well as quickly, punctually and without loss deliver freight to the addressees.

This includes the need to avoid superfluous freight transports and for enterprises quickly to load and unload freight cars. It will be imperative to continue the struggle to resolutely satisfy all nationally justified transport demands and to do so whatever the warehousing situation.

Challenging Goals

Railroaders have achieved satisfactory results in the 1986 implementation of the 11th SED Congress resolutions.

The daily load performance, for example, amounted to 862 kilotons. A record load of 937 kilotons was achieved in November.

Median utilization was raised by 0.06 tons/DA [2-axle freight car--unit of freight volume equivalent to that carried by 2-axle freight car] to 20.39 t/DA.

- 296 km railroad lines were electrified,
- 800 km rails (including points) were reconstructed,
- 100 electric locomotives were taken in service, and
- 7,200 freight cars and 2,500 passenger cars purchased or manufactured by the department for vehicle repair.

These achievements should be acknowledged and represent a satisfactory basis for the realization of the ambitious goals of 1987, because the further

development of our national economy is confronting our trusty railroader collectives with new, greater and even more challenging targets. By the primary means of socialist intensification we will have to further raise the capacity of the railroad, accomplish all nationally warranted transport, transshipment, repair and construction requirements with the greatest possible efficiency, declining production consumption, the greatest possible utilization of fixed assets and the rational use of the social labor capacity.

To make sure of the efficiency of the railroad, we need to adjust all measures of science and technology to the new criteria and resolutely carry out the measures provided in the plan science and technology.

Compared with 1986, passenger services will rise by about 400 million passenger kilometers, 11 million tons more freight are to be carried. The daily load carried will rise by about 30 kilotons, and this means that we will have to load an average of 901 kilotons per day.

Freight car circulation is planned at 3.80 d/Wg [expansion unknown], median utilization at 20.44 tons/DA.

A further consolidation of the material-technical base is planned to secure this increase in performance. It is intended, for example, in 1987 to

- Begin operations on 391 km electrified line,
- Reconstruct 880 km rails including points,
- Take in service 100 electric locomotives. Electric traction will then account for 41.6 percent of total train transportation,
- More freight and passenger cars will be purchased or manufactured by the department for vehicle repairs.

Modern switching equipment and safety equipment will be taken in service--including the greater use of robots.

Many measures aim to further improve the working and living conditions of railroaders.

In the following I will deal with some key aspects of our work in 1987.

1. Commuter, Student and Tourist Traffic

Consonant with the 11th SED Party Congress resolutions, our main efforts with regard to passenger traffic will be directed to improvements in the quality of the services offered to commuters, students and travelers.

It will be particularly important to organize passenger handling and information in a customer-friendly manner and provide attractive, appropriate and high-quality services. We also need to carry on commuter, student and tourist traffic safely and punctually, guarantee the exemplary cleanliness of vehicles and traffic facilities as well as have our employees adopt a courteous and correct attitude.

To achieve these targets, we must carry out the following measures:

- Improve the quality of work of those employees who are in constant touch with the traveling public, by means of
 - . Exchanges of experiences and performance comparisons for key groups of employees,
 - . Adjustment of internal service regulations to daily requirements, the further development of legal provisions,
 - . On the spot checks and
 - . Improvements in the working and living conditions of employees (meaningful stimulation by cooperation in the organization of sociopolitical measures, more concessionary travel, and so on);
- The implementation of further measures for the improvement of passenger information, specially in the case of delays or cancellations as well as for raising the standard of service and supplies, including the more attractive appearance of the travel facilities;
- Improvements in the quality of handling passenger trains; the emphasis here will be on
 - . External and internal cleaning,
 - . Proper supplies of water and toilet paper,
 - . Observance of the prescribed lighting, preheating and heating,
 - . Preventive and quality appropriate maintenance of the passenger cars,
- The procurement and the stabilization of the use of new equipment for the thoroughgoing rationalization of ticketing and payment processes (including seat reservations),
- The achievement of the tasks related to the 750th anniversary celebrations for Berlin, including the extension of the Berlin East station connecting line to the main railroad station,
- The utilization of experiences and successes achieved in bilateral and multilateral international cooperation,
- The high-quality carriage of baggage and express parcels.

2. Work with the Freight Car Stock

The 1987 goal for freight transportation is the carriage of a 3.3 percent increase in freight volume above that of 1986. Taking into account the continuing rise in coal and construction materials carriage, two key points emerge:

- The percentage of flat cars in the total demand for transport space will rise yet again.

- The additional availability will be concentrated in Cottbus and Halle Reichsbahn districts.

The rising transportation needs related to the planned expansion of ferry services between the GDR and the USSR via Mukran represent another key point.

The national economy's challenging need for transportation expected in 1987 requires another decided increase in the DR's [GDR Railroad] capacity. It will be imperative to far more exhaustively utilize the freight car stock, and it will therefore be necessary to raise

- Utilization by speeding up turnaround time by at least 6 hours overall and at least 7 hours for flat cars,
- Statistical utilization by raising average utilization by at least 50 kg/DA and
- The availability of the car stock by observing or undercutting the standard stocks of damaged cars as well as the absolute avoidance of cars with damaged and surplus/missing freight, no load operations and the removal of empty damaged cars.

The speed-up of freight car turnaround is the crucial factor.

What are the particular concerns?

- It is imperative to guarantee and improve the sections' capacity for handling trains, because this is currently one of the decisive conditions for improving capacity, quality and efficiency. To do so it will be necessary
 - . In pursuit of the principle "operating and building" to provide the technological preconditions for the efficient use of the new and high-capacity machine sets,
 - . To substantially lower blockages by the concentrated deployment of manpower and equipment,
 - . To arrange for priority with regard to maintenance and servicing of installations on heavily traveled sections with the goal of decisively reducing the incidence of malfunctions and creating the preconditions for cutting idle times,
 - . To increase the utilization of freight cars in order to lower the amount of train runs.
- The time and model appropriate availability of locomotives must be secured, taking in account the pertinent transport availabilities. This needs to be done by
 - . Improving the extent of utilization by using the most efficient equipment,

- . Making greater efforts to ensure the proper locomotive turnarounds ,
- . Quality appropriately maintaining the locomotives while observing or undercutting the standards for electric locomotives (9.6 percent) and diesel locomotives (16.9 percent).
- Stability in the work of the classification yards needs to be guaranteed. The observance of the proper procedures for track use is particularly important in this context, in addition to the provision of the preconditions related to the availability of equipment and personnel.
- The following factors need to have priority in the course of the organization, supervision and operation of standard equipment:
 - . Reducing unscheduled trains in special plans on the improvement of the equipment, for example by the use of the multiple GZV [regulations for freight train formation] or by increasing scheduled or extra road and service runs,
 - . Avoiding stopping trains ahead of classification yards, transforming and border stations,
 - . Improving the punctuality of train departures from classification yards.
- To reduce stationary time for loaded and empty freight cars inside and outside of supplementary facilities, it will be necessary on the basis of thorough analyses to initiate concrete technological and preparatory measures and to improve procedures for, among others, set route operation, readying, collection and train formation.
- The tried and tested method of controlled loading must be resolutely and fully enforced in all departments and sectors, in particular for the further improvement of through freight train formation and fewer empty runs of freight cars.
- Freight car handling needs to be very much improved. We are particularly concerned with
 - . Attention to the condition of the car,
 - . The selection of the most advantageous containers, taking account of the nature of the respective freight,
 - . The disciplined observance of the prescribed ranking and sequence for making available empty transport space, given that overall transport capacities are insufficient.
- It is imperative every day of the week and every hour of the day to guarantee the punctual loading and unloading of freight cars, specially container carriers and bulk cars as well as cars for DR construction enterprises.

- To reduce the incidence of cars with surplus/missing freight in transit traffic it will be necessary to emphasize the following:
 - . Energetic admonishment of the people responsible for separating the waybill from the car to get rid of this defect,
 - . Expert selection of cars for loading export freight,
 - . Observance by the shippers of the prescribed loading of export freight cars and proper controls by the recipient stations,
 - . Careful handling of the cars in the course of switching,
 - . Border entry inspection according to the rules.
- It is imperative to ensure the maintenance of freight cars at a high technical and technological standard. The mobilization and involvement of all employees must provide for

- . The further improvement of the quality of repairs, in particular so as to minimize malfunctions,
- . Orientation to smooth flowing repairs every day of the week and the extension of multishift work,
- . Ensuring the assortment and demand appropriate availability of substitute and replacement parts.

It is imperative, moreover, to recruit more state enterprises to service and maintain as well as repair freight cars. The detailed tasks included in the "freight car drive" must be resolutely accomplished. The struggle for each and every freight car must be conducted with even greater resolution.

3. Goals Relating to Container and Bulk Transportation

For transport customers without their own rail connection, large containers continue to offer the most suitable variant of house-to-house shipment. We therefore need to expand their use. Planned for 1987 is another rise in these services to approximately 800,000 loads.

In our calculations we need to consider that, due to the dynamics of foreign trade relations, we must have available fluctuating quantities of large containers for foreign trade.

Performance growth coupled with the simultaneous improvement in quality is to be achieved mainly by

- The perfection and observance of local procedures and the time and type appropriate availability of cars lowering the time the large containers are kept at the originating stations and stations of destination; this is

a task for the container service, the classification service and the dispatcher service.

- Improving the utilization of large containers,
- Lowering the time large containers are kept idle by having to be carried on trucks; this may be done by improving the performance of trucks in the second and third shift and at weekends. The truck capacities must always be adapted to the fluctuating arrival of freight,
- Improvement of the capacity of some large container reloading points by the addition of more cranes or by reconstruction measures,
- Opening new large container depots with their own catchment area or reloading points and area service, probably in Werder (Neuruppin Kreis), Genthin and Falkenstein (Vogtland),
- The more rational and faster production of waybills, dispatch, control and invoice documents by the use of personal computers and copiers at selected large container reloading points.

Railroad/road transport cooperation in bulk freight, small container and pallet carriage aims at a service offer of 2,000 kilotons. If the various sectors of the national economy will call on these services, it will mean an average 10 percent rise by comparison with 1986.

Cooperation with road transport enterprises, our transport customers and local transport committees must ensure that

- The procedural regulations are observed for bulk freight traffic,
- Proper acceptance procedures are meticulously followed with regard to dates and destinations,
- The extent of the utilization of small containers and pallets is expanded with the aim of improving the extent of mechanization and palletization.

4. Energy Management Goals

By comparison with the previous year, the DR managed in 1986 also to conform with government energy policies by contributing to the output growth of the national economy combined with an energy consumption that was lower in absolute terms. The reduction amounted to about 400 TJ [tera joules], in other words a raw brown equivalent of 50 kilotons. This result was largely due to the lower consumption of traction energy consequent upon the further expansion of electric traction. On the other hand, the progressive rise in the absolute consumption by the other processes is unsatisfactory.

Emphasis on the introduction of new technological processes and the avoidance of any energy waste, specially in heat management including space heating,

needs to counteract any further rise in the demand for electricity and solid fuels.

In the coming years, too, we will as planned increase the numbers of electrically operated switch heaters in order to safeguard railroad operations in winter conditions. Assuming an annual increase by 1,000 switch units, this involves additional electricity consumption corresponding to the annual consumption of a medium size railroad repair plant. By equipping the switch heaters with thermostats, heating will be reduced to the indispensable minimum and up to 30 percent electricity saved.

Analyses in comparable territories have repeatedly shown that wide differences still persist with regard to the hours of use of these switch heaters, though there is no objective justification for them.

We will also need a major effort to implement the replacement of electric space heating (including the backlog of 1986), planned for 1987.

Lighting offers another reserve for the conservation of electricity. The use of modern light sources, in particular high-pressure sodium vapor lamps for external lighting fixtures, work place related lighting and switching off during non-working hours represent the most significant rationalization measures.

We must use all opportunities to stimulate the initiatives of railroaders with regard to electricity conservation, including the award of competition premiums paid from cost savings.

The 1987 plan includes challenging targets in the field of stationary energy use for space heating. We aim to save energy to an equivalent of 25 kilotons raw brown coal by comparison with 1986.

This will require us to resolutely enforce the heat energy decree (GB1 special issue 1095/82) and, as a basic prerequisite for rational space heating, exclude any excess of the highest admissible inside temperatures. We may assume that a 1 percent excess of the admissible temperatures (maximum 20 degrees centigrade) consumes about 6.5 percent more energy.

Earlier measures concentrated on the perfection of heating systems, including equipment with thermostats controlled by outside temperatures. However, they are not enough to bring about complete compliance with energy conservation targets. The conversion of existing installations using brown coal briquettes to raw brown coal use will have to be energetically further pursued.

5. Efficient Use of the Electrified System and Locomotives

The economic strategy for the 1980's calls on the DR for a growing performance accompanied by declining prime costs, less materials and energy use. This also requires the further intensification of the use of locomotives.

It is imperative in particular to use to the fullest possible extent electric traction that consumes only about one third of the energy used by diesel traction for the same performance. In 1986, for example, the train propelling performance of electric locomotives was raised by more than 10 percent compared with the previous year.

Another increase by 11.4 percent is planned for 1987.

We did not manage in 1986 to adequately improve the utilization of locomotives. No noticeable increase by comparison with the previous year was achieved in 1986 with regard to the most important indicators for the utilization of locomotives, such as

- Hours of operation/locomotive and day
- 10 operational kilometers/locomotive and day,

nor a decline in

- kilometer locomotive runs without cars/train kilometers.

We must not allow this to go on, because an average 17.4 hours of daily operation of electric locomotives (16 2/3 Hz) does not correspond to the optimum potential of this modern engine. This is particularly serious when we consider that the improvement of the utilization of electric locomotives by half an hour per day would mean gaining around 19 locomotives that are urgently needed for the better utilization of the electrified sections.

The causes of the inadequate improvement in the utilization of locomotives include frequent deviations from regulation equipment use by unduly frequent malfunctions, too many reduced speed track sections, insufficiently coordinated construction and other obstacles in the system. These result in delays in locomotive turnarounds and, consequently, the need to use additional locomotives. Locomotives and locomotive personnel are absent longer, and the planned working schedule can no longer be met.

The consequences are a locomotive stock working to excess, a rise in kilometer/locomotive runs without cars, greater energy use and, not least, the need for more engineers in order to restabilize the regulation technology impaired by breaks in train operation.

To accomplish the transportation targets coupled with the efficient utilization of the locomotives (fixed assets), it will be necessary to concentrate on the following key points:

- The further resolute application of the Cottbus initiative "notes on the plan" to reveal weaknesses in locomotive deployment techniques and reserves with respect to the efficient utilization of locomotives.
- Guaranteeing the best possible quality of technological preparations for train operation and the uncompromising enforcement of regulation procedures; this applies specially to electrified sections now beginning operations--their full utilization must be secured from day 1,

- The struggle for increasing the uninterrupted operation of the locomotives by high-quality work in the maintenance and servicing departments,
- Obtaining longer utilization times for locomotives by optimizing locomotive turnarounds consonant with the potential of electric traction; the median daily utilization of electric locomotives is to be raised to 17.8 hours thereby,
- The continuing reduction of locomotive runs without cars/kilometers
- Ensuring the demand appropriate locomotive stock and personnel coupled with the greatest possible availability of the locomotive stock.

6. Order, Discipline and Safety

The permanent guarantee of order, discipline and safety is an essential condition for the safe and uninterrupted transportation processes.

Many thousand railroaders are daily contributing to the achievement of national goals by their responsible and disciplined efforts. However, accidents and irregularities still occur as the result of mistakes, violations of discipline and order, committed by some railroaders. These exert an adverse effect on transportation processes and ruin the solid work of many railroaders while endangering human lives and valuable freight.

An analysis of accidents reveals the following as the main defects:

- Inadequate respect for regulation procedures; the struggle for their observance is not conducted with the persistence required,
- Undue sticking to routine and habitual deviation from legal regulations and service regulations,
- Inadequate handling of operations in the case regulation procedures need to be suspended or when breakdowns occur.

Furthermore, malfunctions still adversely affect operations and, therefore the fulfillment of transportation tasks; such malfunctions tend to occur in locomotives, cars, signals, tracks, safety or telecommunication equipment

It is imperative to educate our railroaders for the conscious and observance and enforcement of legal and service regulations. Educational efforts need to be more effectively backed by personal talks and relevant instruction and supervision on the job.

In close cooperation with the social forces it will be necessary to see to it that the socialist competition and safety activist groups contribute even more to the improvement of work and production safety as well as to a reduction in

malfunctions.

Special attention is due our young skilled workers and recently hired personnel; they need special instruction and supervision especially in the early days of working on their own.

At the same time we must use service training more effectively and resolutely for the education of railroaders so as to guarantee order, discipline and safety. Operations in each sphere of responsibility must be evaluated by key points within the collective.

The measures included in the "1986-1990 Central Program for the Improvement of Safety in Railroad Operation" must be carried out and applied in daily service.

■

The challenges confronting railroad transportation in 1987 can be met only if we struggle for the achievement of our objectives each day, in every shift, each work collective with the proven leadership of the party organizations and the political organs, in collaboration with all state and social forces in the socialist competition, with the greatest possible conscientiousness and personal commitment, while always maintaining exemplary order, discipline and safety.

11698

CSO: 2300/209

BRIEFS

METALLURGICAL IMPORT CONTRACTS WITH USSR--Important contracts on the import of metallurgical products for 1987 were concluded today in Leipzig between the GDR Metals Trade Enterprise and the Soviet All-Union industrial raw materials foreign trade association. The imports, with a total value of over R215 million, include, among other items, shipbuilding plates, hot-rolled rods, and steel tubes. The long-term supply of opencast mining equipment and apparatus for underground mining was agreed between the GDR and the USSR. Foreign trade enterprises of the two countries also arranged mutual supplies of agricultural technology. This means that the Soviet Union is purchasing harvesting machinery and milking plant from the GDR, as well as equipment for poultry production. On the other side of the deal, the USSR is supplying tractors of various performance classes, and soil processing equipment.

[Text] [East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 17 Mar 87 LD] /9274

PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH CUBA--Felix Meier, GDR minister of electrical engineering and electronics, and Samuel Savariego, director of the National Institute for Automation Systems and Computer Technology of the Republic of Cuba (INSAC), signed a protocol on future cooperation during a visit by a delegation of the institute to the GDR. This cooperation consists of further assistance to Cuba's electronic industry in some electronic computer technology sectors and in the manufacture of microelectronic components on the basis of an agreement concluded between ministers in 1986. Thus, the support for Cuba's economic development, which began with the reconstruction of Cuba's sugar industry, is being continued constructively in the field of electrical engineering and electronics. During visits to the Robotron VEB combine, to the Frankfurt (Oder) semiconductor VEB works, and to the Neuruppin electrophysical VEB works, the delegation saw for itself the high standard of the GDR's electronic industry. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Feb 87 p 2 AU] /9274

CSO: 2300/230

PROBLEMS IN TRADE RELATIONS WITH LIBYA DESCRIBED

Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE in Polish No 155-156, 29-30 Dec 86 p 8

[Article by Marek Slawatyniec: "Trade with Libya: Surviving a Difficult Period"]

[Text] "Libya will never go bankrupt. We should particularly remember this now when that country is experiencing serious economic difficulties, unfavorably affecting the development of our mutual trade," commented S. Kukuryka, Polish Ambassador to Libya, in his speech opening the meeting organized by the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade at which J. Respondek, the Polish trade advisor in Libya, met with representatives of the production enterprises and the foreign trade central office.

In describing the current state of Polish-Libyan economic relations, S. Kukuryka emphasized that Poland, given that it must pay a debt to Libya of about \$500 million, is very interested in further increasing its exports to this market. Libya has modified its economic policy adapting it to its current financial capabilities. There has been a significant change in priorities. More attention is being given to developing small industry, crafts, and agriculture (especially family productive cooperatives), so there has been a decline in large, expensive investments.

This reorientation is causing us much trouble, for it is particularly hard to obtain new contracts for building services, but it also provides opportunities, primarily because of their need for simple machines and equipment that we can offer at competitive prices. We can be moderately optimistic about the prospects for developing Polish exports to Libya. We must be aware, S. Kukuryka noted, that this difficult market is very competitive and success in the form of new contracts is hard.

In his comments, Counsellor J. Respondek concentrated on Poland's debt to Libya and opportunities for paying it. In accord with our bilateral agreement, our obligations are to be settled by 1989 with exports of services and goods, and 60 percent of these exports should consist of construction and consulting services. Recent experience shows, however, that the planned exports of construction (about \$90 million annually) are unrealistic. Thus we must strive to broaden our shipments of goods. It is believed that there is a relatively greater chance in this area to increase exports. Due to the known

economic prerequisites, it is essential to establish the specific assortment of goods to be offered our Libyan partner.

In January 1987 at the next meeting of the Polish-Libyan Mixed Commission, the Libyan side will be presented a list of goods whose export to Libya we would like to develop.

In the statements of the representatives of the production plants and the foreign trade central offices, attention was most often drawn to the various types of problems connected with exports to Libya, especially with the difficulties in obtaining payment. The common Libyan practice of extending the legal formalities as long as possible, opening letters of credit several or even a dozen months after signing the contract causes Polish firms many difficulties. They gave many examples of contracts worth several hundred thousand dollars signed in 1985 for which payments have not been begun yet. There are also cases of making beginning payments depend on additional, initially unanticipated conditions. As a result, the producers are not infrequently forced to warehouse the finished goods intended for their Libyan partners, which causes significant losses. For this reason, it is quite possible that many plants, especially in the light industry, will withdraw from the Libyan market.

Exporters of construction, besides the difficulties with payments, also pointed to the increasingly complicated operating conditions in Libya. The general decline in demand in the world construction market has sharpened competition in Libya. Credit terms have become increasingly an element in competitiveness, frequently they become the principal factor that determines the negotiating strength of an exporter. Thus Polish enterprises find themselves in an unfavorable situation from the beginning. In the participants' opinion the barrier of credit limitations can be overcome to a degree by cooperating with strong Western firms that have signed contracts with Libya. However, given the reduction of investments in Libya, the western partners are also having difficulties in obtaining new contracts. Accepting local building contracts paid in dinars (without transfer of the earned sums to Poland) provides some opportunities. It would permit Poland to survive the most difficult period and more importantly maintain itself in that market.

In summarizing the discussion, Counsellor J. Respondek emphasized that Libya has been, is, and will remain one of the Poland's most important partners in the Third World. It has great economic potential and undoubtedly in the long run will be a large sales market. Thus we must survive this difficult period at all costs.

13021

CSO: 2600/379

COMPUTER USE IN FOREIGN TRADE SECTOR CRITICALLY VIEWED

Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE in Polish No 9, 21 Jan 87 p 8

[Article by Stefan Semczuk: "Computers in Foreign Trade Enterprises"]

[Text] Data from the Central Office of Statistics shows that in the units under the Ministry of Foreign Trade, there is one computer for every 673 employees, while in the entire economy there is one for every 6,100 employees, nine-fold more than in the other sectors of the economy. The technical quality of the computers is lower in foreign trade than in other sectors and the exploitation of these machines is worse than the overall average. Overall, computers are used 14.3 hours each working day, but in units of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, 12.2 hours; microcomputers, 7.9 and 6.4 hours respectively.

In preparing the report on the technical quality in foreign trade, the Computer Center for Foreign Trade gathered information for 41 enterprises and partnerships in addition to using the data from the Central Office of Statistics. The results of these materials are interesting enough to make them available to a broader range of employees in foreign trade.

Organizational Conditions

Computer centers operate in 33 enterprises and partnerships in foreign trade, usually as independent units with the rights of a department, and in five cases as sections within departments. Of the 28 centers at the department level 14 are subordinated to the economic director, 11 to the finance director, or the chief accountant, and 3 to the chief director. The proper organizational location of the centers predominates: at the department level, subordinated to the economic director. The frequent subordination of the centers to the chief accountant cannot be regarded as a mistake, although the computer scientists believe that it causes financial records to be overemphasized at the expense of comprehensive computer systems. Maintaining the centers at the section level retards the development of comprehensive systems.

In two enterprises, computer calculations are contracted out to outside computer centers. Of the six remaining enterprises, three have created separate work positions, to implement the use of computers, and the other

three have no positions devoted to computers. These are not small enterprises. They employ 150 to 200 people and their turnover exceeds \$5.5 billion annually. If they see no need to use the centers available in Poland to facilitate office work, this testifies either to an exceptional love for traditional work styles or rather exceptional resistance to technical and organizational advancement in the management of the enterprises.

Today we probably do not need to convince anyone of the benefits of computers, although at times it is difficult to calculate them exactly. For example, in those enterprises where there are computer scientists in the workforce, the index of contracts signed per employee is the highest.

Most of the surveyed enterprises have decided to use computers; nine of them organized computation centers in 1970-75; 15, in 1976-80; the remaining nine in 1980. The centers employ only a few people; the average is 16. The two largest employ 38 people, and the 18 smallest employ fewer than 10.

Variations in Equipment

At the end of 1986 the surveyed 33 centers had seven computers, 132 minicomputers, and 92 microcomputers. Practically the entire computer park is imported from the second payments area, except for nine domestic minicomputers, and two imported from socialist countries. A large number of these machines is out of date (80 of the minicomputers date from the 1970's).

Only during the last three years, have significant changes occurred in the structure of computer purchases. Installation of units with increased power has begun, and simultaneously enterprises began to introduce microcomputers.

Generally speaking, the structure of computer purchases is appropriate. Premature purchases of large computers, as happened in the 1970's in other sectors of the economy, have been avoided. The variety of types of machines and their producers is disturbing. It suffices to mention that among the 132 machines at the end of 1986 there were 27 models from 11 firms.

The variety of microcomputers is not as bad as for minicomputers. The compatibility of programs is assured by the producer and can facilitate cooperation among users. On the other hand, it appears that with well coordinated operations it is possible to negotiate in the purchase of a shipment of minicomputers many more favorable conditions than buying a few or even a dozen or so computers from various producers.

The varied and uncontrolled structure of purchases of minicomputers practically prevents organizing many common operations that could accelerate introduction of computers and lower costs, especially in training repairmen, programmers, and operators, creating common spare parts inventories, or developing typical computer systems, and organizing a uniform ministry-wide information system. There is a lack of current, organized cooperation among the computer personnel. Systematic meetings and exchange of information both positive and negative would surely lead to the development of more coherent policies for purchasing equipment.

Sharing Data

Close cooperation and coordination are particularly needed in the rapidly developing of data sharing. Such information sharing between partners in the trade of goods is already practiced. In the United States 8,000 firms and in Great Britain 400 firms regularly transmit data over telecommunication lines instead of sending printed documents. Currently, international standards are being established in order to facilitate electronic data transfer in international trade and it is believed that it will become common in the course of two years. Failure to adopt to this form of information transfer can retard the development of trade, as has happened in the case of failing to adopt to container shipments.

Only 18 of the surveyed enterprises have begun or undertaken attempts to transfer data electronically without sending printed documents; of them six are doing this only with the Computer Center for Foreign Trade. The Center is organizing a group of experts from those foreign trade enterprises that have tested electronic data transfer. Its task is to disseminate international standards to facilitate contacts between the computers installed in the foreign trade enterprises and the computers of the foreign partners. It is sad that several enterprises see no need to cooperate in this obvious matter.

Systems in Use

In the 33 surveyed centers, 261 systems are in use, 136 are being introduced, and 168 are planned for introduction. Thus there is an average of 8 systems per center, a humble number. Several foreign trade enterprises use more than 20 systems, but many centers run only four or five or 5 systems.

Among the systems in use, subjects connected with the service of export and import transactions dominate (nearly 50 percent), especially export invoices and import invoices. This dominance will continue in the future. This type of design work is appropriate, for it computerizes the most repetitive and labor-intensive office work.

There is also increased interest in computerizing information used in on-going management: personnel records, wage calculations, accounting records. Interest is still limited in using computers to collect, process, and access information on the world economy and the countries with which the enterprises maintain trade relations.

The lack of interest in marketing studies and the creation of systems to collect and quickly search for information on customs, trade, bank, insurance, and transportation regulations; follow markets; and access other data useful to employees in foreign trade is disturbing. In general, the computer personnel in the new, small centers have shown more initiative and eagerness to innovate than their colleagues in the larger, older centers.

The dynamic, wild development of computers in foreign trade enterprises makes it clear that the computer specialists in foreign trade must organize. This would promote professional discussion on the optimal selection of equipment, direction of design work, the development of methods of collecting, storing,

processing, and accessing information for improving the management of the enterprises and also the whole ministry. Creating condition for this discussion could be done through a club or a circle of the Polish Computer society of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, or the consulting group at the ministry. The issue is open, but increasingly urgent.

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ELECTRONICS COOP DIRECTOR ON EXPORT POTENTIAL

Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE in Polish No 151, 19 Dec 86 p 8

[Interview with Andrzej Ziaja, general manager of the "Metronex" cooperative, by Bogda Zukowska: "The Strong Must Be Stronger"]

[Text] [Question] Please permit me to begin the interview by citing a columnist, Andrzej Ziaja. In 1983 in ZYCIE WARSZAWY you wrote about export specializations. You proposed in the subtitles of this article "to loosen the corset" (on the regulations on the retained hard currency earnings), "convertible currency self-financing," and "it is not the same for all." How do you regard your statement today after three years? Was it not too optimistic?

[Answer] I still believe that the measure of export capability of each industry is its ability to produce its own convertible currency financing. I would select our export specializations based on this criterion. The specializations should, simply speaking, determine the structure of production. Today it requires even more than then when I wrote the article. At that time it appeared that the retained earnings accounts would become a permanent feature of the economy, and that they were an excellent instrument for promoting exports and modernizing production. For one's own dollar earnings. We began to do this in our own branch.

The reality of 1986 can only be compared to a cup of cold water. Suffice it to say that now the holders of retained earnings accounts would greet the operating conditions of three years ago with open arms.

I can regret that we created the restructuring fund for the electronics industry; instead of spending these dollars before they were "nationalized", but that changes nothing.

[Question] What do you think of the new conception of the retained earnings accounts, distributing their use over time and giving them ownership status?

[Answer] Just let us observe these principles, and I hope that the greatly shaken motivation to export among producers will recover.

[Question] You would certainly like to see the products of the partners in Metronex among Poland's export specialties: control and measurement equipment and electronics broadly understood. This harmonizes with the general declarations of support for exports of products with high degrees of added value, but it conflicts with convertible currency self-financing. Whatever one says, new technology and equipment for these industries must be bought for dollars. How can one speak of self-financing if the imports from the second payments area greatly exceed exports?

[Answer] This requires explanation. In the case of imports there is a central foreign trade monopoly. As a result Metronex is practically the exclusive importer for specialist equipment and components for the entire economy. About one-fourth of our purchases are for our partners. The current 40-percent retention rate has sufficed to earn enough from exports to pay for imports.

In zloty it was even better. Under resolution 77 of the Council of Ministers of 1983 on electronization, some enterprises did not have to share their amortization accounts with the budget. They could earmark them for development.

And even if some of our partners would gladly accept additional funds from various pools and central accounts, I stubbornly believe that we would not need a single zloty or dollar from the state if the rules of 1983 had been retained.

[Question] Why do speak of resolution 77 in the past tense?

[Answer] That is a question for the Ministry of Finance. The resolution has not been rescinded.

[Question] What have the zloty and dollars been used for so far?

[Answer] For modernizing the plants and the products. The results are visible in Metronex's trade performance; in comparison with 1985, exports have increased by nearly 20 percent to the first payments area and by nearly 40 percent to the second area.

[Question] These figures suggest that there are significant sales to the West, but this is contrary to reality. Ninety percent of the goods go to socialist countries.

[Answer] The question implies that ruble exports are easier. If this was ever true, then that era has ended. Competition is great, and our partners are not tight when it comes to purchases of high quality electronics products, they are not even tight with dollars. There can be no question of offering "second quality" only because the customer is not paying with dollars.

Our largest partner, the Soviet Union, has given us unusually demanding conditions for official certification of equipment beginning with 1987. For many producers they can be a difficult barrier to clear, especially for those satisfied to operate under the myth of "easy exports."

The economic analysis conducted in the enterprises shows that it is more profitable to export to the first area. These contracts insure us, among other things important for a firm's performance, certain sales and production in large quantities. This satisfies some. But the need to modernize does not apply just to those producers of products for export to convertible currency markets.

[Question] I do not claim that some exports are more and others less important, but I maintain that the current proportion of trade with the first and second payments areas will prevent restructuralization and this threatens us with the loss of our markets.

[Answer] These proportions cannot be changed from one day to the next by simply shifting a so-called mass of goods from one of these markets to the other. We must change the structure of production in accord with technological advancement in the world and foreign market conditions. The producers understand this; but given the constant difficulties and uncertainties of tomorrow, they treat thinking about what to produce and sell in three or four years as a luxury they cannot afford. If they have realistic programs, we attempt to help them, for example, by making convertible currency available or purchasing equipment. Obviously not without conditions; production must generate goods for export. From these increased sales the enterprises pay back their debt to us. Both sides are interested in the success of such a transaction. The producer wants machines, we want goods, and all want to make a good profit.

Metronex has signed 12 such agreements and two more are in preparation. For the last two years we have earmarked nearly \$11 million for purchases, and the trade performance now shows that the first ones were well managed. The Plants of the Automation and Measuring Apparatus Industry Association in Blona, KFAP, Elzab, Pafal, Lumel are our major exporters. Also on this list are two new, active partnerships, Mercomp and Microcomputer in which we participate.

[Question] One of the highest retention rates, 40 percent, preferential regulations guaranteeing zloty and dollar credits for development. You will admit that the electronics industry has been kept in an incubator for the last few years. It is not surprising that it is supposed to be the locomotive of exports. But this locomotive is not pulling any better than other branches which have not been given money and priorities. Let's look at a statistical yearbook. In 1985 we received 25 billion zloty for sales of computer systems and electronic calculating equipment and for sales of clothing and white goods, 29 billion zloty. For sales of measuring equipment and laboratory equipment we earned as much as for sales of fish, 15 billion zloty. Exports of processed meat goods earned even more.

[Answer] Meat and fish are traditional Polish specialties, and we must do everything to earn more from them. However, for those who have anything to do with a broadly conceived electronics industry from design to export, this is one proof that half-hearted measures produce partial results.

[Question] Is this the only reason we "occupy a distant place in the production of computer equipment and it will be hard for us to improve our

position"? I am quoting Prof Turski, president of the Polish Computer Society.

[Answer] It probably is not that bad. But if we do not systematically develop this industry, it will get that bad. It surely can be seen that in the last few years much has been done in this branch. Thanks to our own investment in development, it has become stronger. Now we must not weaken the existing stimuli and not slow the development where it is proceeding under its own power without subsidies from the budget. Simply the strong must be stronger.

[Question] Perhaps you will arouse the supporters of egalitarianism.

[Answer] There is no other way out. Frankly, weak exporters will not pay our debts. I must add that strong does not mean big.

[Question] If you are opposed to giants, I must ask how are your relations with the Automation and Measuring Apparatus Industry Association, which is not one of the smallest.

[Answer] We deal mostly with the enterprises, including those that do not belong to the Association. Membership in the association does not mean resignation from one's own production and trade policy. Besides, we belong to this Association. We believe that in this branch common action is essential, especially to solve the producers' basic problem, supplies of components produced by the factories in the Electronics and Telecommunications Industry Union.

Alone nothing can be done. The financial ability of the enterprises in the Apparatus Industry Association or in the Telecommunications Industry Union have proven to be inadequate, we have tried them. In this case subsidies from the central budget for investment will be essential.

[Question] Thus it will be necessary to get state monies.

[Answer] It will be good business and not a subsidy.

[Question] The problem is where to find this money. The proposed National Socioeconomic Plan paints a bleak picture for investments for those who do not belong to the power and fuels industries. But the production and export tasks are, as they say euphemistically, ambitious.

[Answer] For now I can say that the plan for 1987 will not be easy, but it is realistic. There are prospects for increasing our convertible currency exports. I am thinking of the creation of a joint venture. Talks are under way with two firms from Great Britain and the United States. Another major event for us occurred in 1986; we became members of the IMF and the World Bank. Until now Polish foreign trade could not participate in bidding on projects financed by these institutions in the Third World.

There is something to fight for, for the value of a single transaction exceeds \$1 million. Optimistically, we could increase our convertible currency income

by several million dollars annually. Our offers include electric and water meters.

[Question] Millions of dollars, for a central as large as Metronex, that is not so much.

[Answer] Perhaps I would have thought so a few years ago, but today things are different. As you see we are restructuring not only production but our way of thinking, too.

[Interviewer] Thank you for your comments.

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PRODUCTION, EXPORTS OF PASSENGER CARS

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 57 Dec 86 pp 18-19

[Article by V. Bogdan: "The Automobile Industry: Diversification of Production and Export Markets"]

[Text] Prestige in the Growth of Production of the ARO, Dacia and OLCIT Models

The growth of automobile production, set at an increase of 2.7 times over for this five year plan--with this indicator outstripping the one for the entire value of industrial goods production by a coefficient of 1.8 to 1.9--will bring about changes in the place and role of automobiles in the national industrial complex. This will contribute to an intensification of Romania's participation in international economic trade through the intermediary of certain goods of high technical complexity, becoming part of the overall strategy which calls for accentuating the intensive nature of economic growth.

The creation of a modern automobile industry in our country is the result of the consistently promoted policy of the Romanian Communist Party based on the profoundly scientific view of its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, referring to the necessity to have a priority orientation of the human, material and financial efforts of the last 2 decades towards the basic modernization of the structure of the national industrial complex, a period during which we created and developed a series of new industrial sub-branches that would prepare and sustain scientific-technical progress throughout the entire economy. In other words, the creation and consolidation of the Romanian automobile industry coincides in time with the appearance of the first elements of intensive-type economic growth inasmuch as this is part of the category of industrial sub-branches which, due to the creative scientific-technical potential involved in this, ensure the higher use of certain resources having a restricted nature (raw materials, energy, manpower and so forth).

The Romanian automobile industry directly involves three finished-product production enterprises and eight specialized enterprises making parts and sub-assemblies. The nearly complete integration of production at the national level was achieved by way of the contribution of over 100 industrial enterprises. The finished-product production enterprises outlined model lines recognized on the foreign markets. The "ARO" Enterprise in Cimpulung is recognized worldwide as being one of the large producers of off-road vehicles, with the level of production attained in 1985 being exported at a rate of 81 percent. During the same year,

the Pitesti Automobile Enterprise and the "OLCIT" Joint Company in Craiova exported over 67 percent of the total number of automobiles produced. Soon, the Timisoara Automobile Enterprise will begin to produce a new family of popular, very small engine displacement automobiles, with the "Lastun" model gradually taking form.

In 1985, on-the-average our country produced 59 automobiles per 10,000 inhabitants, with Romania, by using this indicator, placing among the ranks of the first 16 countries that produce such a product. From the point of view of structure and diversification of production, the Romanian automobile industry has evolved at rates comparatively higher than other countries which achieve high levels of production per inhabitant. From the production of a single model within the off-road automobile family in 1965, by 1984 we had reached the production of 4 different families having 17 models, to which one can add the annual models as well as numerous equipment and climate options to meet the diversity of foreign market demands.

It is true that the debut of the modern automobile industry (we are referring to the Dacia 1300 family) took place on the basis of acquiring a production license, but the integration of production on a national level evolved rapidly from approximately 30 percent in 1969 to 95.5 percent in 1976, with it being nearly complete today. And, it is known that at such a degree of technical complexity the integration of the national production plan is influenced by the progress recorded in the upstream sub-branches. The result is that the development of the automobile industry, concomitantly with the integration of production at the national level, has become possible within the context of a rising, quantitative and, especially, qualitative evolution of overall Romanian industry.

The organization, development and consolidation of the Romanian automobile industry took place during a period characterized by broad changes in worldwide automobile production, changes less favorable to the debut of such a sector at the national level. We are not talking about changes of a quantitative nature (worldwide production recorded a continuing decrease in rates of growth, tending to stabilize in recent years and growing only at the rate of 3.1 percent during the period 1979-1985), but about certain structural and qualitative changes which have contributed to an accentuation of the difficulties to penetrate foreign markets.

But even under these less than favorable conditions, Romanian automobile production gradually penetrated the foreign markets, including those using convertible currencies. From the mere 328 off-road vehicles exported in 1965, we have reached an export level of over 21,400 vehicles in 1980. What is significant, however, is the evolution of exports in recent years. The number of Romanian automobiles exported in 1985 was greater than nearly 4.4 times the number in 1980. Through these automobiles, Romania has intensified its participation in international economic trade by offering products which incorporate to a higher degree its own scientific-technical creativity and

make better use of material and energy resources. This constitutes a key facet of the automobile industry's contribution to accentuating the intensive nature of economic growth.

The factors which have favorably influenced such an evolution in exports are:

a. The construction of recognizable models ("Dacia," "ARO," "OLTCIT" and so forth) concomitantly with the permanent improvement of Romanian automobile performance, as attested to by the results obtained in various international competitions.

b. The consistent promotion of technical innovation as the pivot point for penetrating foreign markets, due to the favorable influence that this exerts on technical-economic production indicators, is favored by the concentration of efforts in the field of scientific research specific to the automobile industry. The Institute of Scientific Research and Technological Engineering for Automobiles carries out its activities at the Colibasi-Pitesti industrial complex and cooperates with a large number of institutes in various industrial fields.

c. The efforts of Romanian researchers have resulted in basic technological improvements in the production of certain essential sub-assemblies (such as in the powertrain) and in the improvement of the aerodynamic characteristics of the new models, the introduction into production of a variety of standardized mechanical parts, and so forth.

d. The diversification of the forms of sales of the foreign markets, concomitantly with an intensification of efforts to acquire new segments of the foreign markets. Currently, the Romanian automobile industry has sales on foreign markets having significant capacities for purchases, such as: the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Greece, Columbia and so forth. Similarly, the homologation of Romanian automobiles has been obtained in markets having automobile production traditions in industrialized countries such as England, Italy, Canada, Denmark, Australia and so forth.

The high performance of Romanian automobiles has been demonstrated in numerous prestigious international competitions. The "ARO" off-road vehicle has participated with remarkable results in the "African Endurance Rally," "The Algerian Reliability Rally," "The Belgian Forest Rally" and others. Starting in 1977, the participation of the "Dacia" automobile in various international competitions resulted in gaining first place in the 1300 cc class in 25 such competitions. The greatest success, however, was recorded by the three Dacia automobiles which took the first three places in the 1300 cc class for high series-production automobiles and second place in the general class for factory teams in the "Portugal Rally" (5-10 March 1985) stage of the World Rally Championships (the third most difficult stage).

The Romanian automobile industry currently has a powerful technical-material base capable of producing various types of automobiles in a wide variety and having high levels of performance that will satisfy the widest demands.

The efforts of the builders, researchers and designers in this field are directed towards finding and applying new construction solutions which will give improved technical-operational characteristics and performance levels to Romanian automobiles and which will continue to keep them at the level of the best valued products in the world.

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INCREASED PRODUCTION, EXPORTS IN SHIPBUILDING

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 52,26 Dec 86 pp 19-20

[Article by Mircea Iordan of the Institute for Ship Research and Design in Galati: "Increasing the Production and Export Potential of Shipbuilding"]

[Text] Romania's geographic position--being crossed for over 1,000 km by the lower Danube, having an exit into the Black Sea and having a coastline of over 270 km in length--has permitted from the oldest times the development of a prosperous economic life in the ports that sprang up along the banks of the Danube and the shores of the Black Sea. Documents from the second half of the 19th century attest to the establishment of the first shipyards, during this period and even earlier, in Braila (1832), Sulina (1857), Turnu Severin (1858), Galati (1864), Giurgiu (1897) and Constanta (1893). For a long time, the basic activity of these yards was the repair of ships and the building of small, unpowered ships for local use.

The gradual development of all the branches of the national economy after 23 August 1944, the growth in the volume of Romania's foreign trade and the expansion of the geographic area of this trade caused a rapid increase in the requirement for ships, especially ships for maritime transport. In order to satisfy this requirement with its own resources, we moved to design and build in-country our own maritime transports, and, in 1960, the Galati Shipyard delivered the first 4,500 dwt cargo ship, one designed entirely by Romanian specialists. In the following years, the production at the Galati Shipyard was continually diversified, with design and construction being done there on 7,500 dwt cargo ships and 12,500 dwt ore carriers, while the shipyards at Braila and Drobeta-Turnu Severin built a series of river ships (especially barges and tugs).

In 1966, at Galati, the Institute for Scientific Research and Technological Engineering for Shipbuilding (ICEPRONAV) came into being. Today, this institute coordinates all design activity in this field. Also during this period, a broad action was undertaken to reorganize and modernize the country's shipyards for the purpose of substantially increasing the production of ships, both to satisfy domestic needs and to meet exports. As a result of these actions there was a nearly total reconstruction of the shipyards in Constanta, Dobreta-Turnu Severin, Galati and Braila. During a later stage, two new shipyards were built at Tulcea and Mangalia. The majority of the shipyards are equipped with modern technological equipment: automated equipment to process steel plate, high-capacity hydraulic

presses, mechanized section assembly technological lines and automated welding equipment. At the shipyards in Constanta, Mangalia and Galati, large-capacity drydocks were built for building and repairing ships, with other yards being equipped with "synchro-lift" or roller-ways launching and lifting equipment.

Paralleling the modernization and expansion of the shipyards was the development of the capacities of the enterprises which produce the outfitting equipment for ships, for the purpose of reducing the amounts of imports of these equipment and increasing the level of integration of ship production. Thus, first of all, there was the creation of the Galati Ship Enterprise and, later, a similar enterprise in Constanta. Later on, a ship propeller plant started up in Galati which met the needs for propellers and forged parts for all the shipyards in the country. At the same time, special attention was given to design and research activities in the field of ship construction by way of the creation at ICEPRONAV of certain laboratories for testing models of ship hulls and propellers.

In reviewing the products made since the date of the launching of the first 4,500 dwt cargo ship, we find that this sector of the national economy--maritime and river shipbuilding--has had remarkable success. Beginning in 1960, on the basis of our own designs we have put into production over 130 types of ships, covering practically the entire range of capacities and the entire requirement for ships for the transport fleet and technical fleet for our country. Similarly, a significant number of ships was built for export having superior technical-operational characteristics.

Thus, we built general goods cargo ships, lumber carriers and multifunctional ships having capacities between 1,100 and 15,000 dwt, built in a number of construction variations and equipped with various types of main engines and loading-unloading equipment depending upon the needs of the domestic or foreign shipowner. Of this type of ship, a large number was exported to Poland, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, the PRC, Greece, Lebanon, Iran, Bulgaria and Norway. In the bulk goods carrier category, ships were built from 12,500 to 65,00 dwt, with many of these being exported to India, Greece and Japan. Likewise, we built a wide variety of petroleum tankers of diverse capacities, ranging from 5,000 to 150,000 dwt.

Special attention was given to the river transport and technical fleets, which are equipped exclusively with ships built in our country over the last 20 years. Thus, we built an entire variety of river pushers, from 600 to 2,400 hp, needed for the barge convoys used for transport on the Danube, with pushers being delivered for export of 1,600 hp for Yugoslavia and 2,400 hp for Czechoslovakia. At the same time, we produced barges having capacities of up to 3,000 tons for dry goods and tanker barges of 1,500 tons for transporting petroleum products. A large number of river transport ships were exported to the USSR (powered units of various capacities), with the Oltenita Shipyard being a traditional supplier of these types of ships over the last 20 years.

The same attention was given to technical ships needed for use in the maritime and river ports, as well as for carrying out hydro-technical projects. In this category of ships we can mention: port tugboats of from 600 to 4,800 hp; floating cranes of 10 and 32 tons; vacuum dredges of 1,600 and 3,500 cubic meters per hour; cup-type dredges, scows and floating docks of up to 20,000 tons capacity.

For the current five year plan, the production plan is very rich, encompassing the production of new ships having improved technical performance and use levels that will complete these types of products already found in production. Thus, the shipyards are working in our country on bulk goods carriers of 25,000, 65,000, 100,000 and 165,000 dwts, petroleum tankers of 10,000 and 85,000 dwts, container carriers of 8,000 dwts, seagoing tugboats of 6,000 and 12,000 hp, river pushers of 3,600 and 4,800 hp slated for use on the Danube-Black Sea Canal, and 1,500 ton river ships for transporting truck trailers.

It is worth mentioning the fact that ship construction in our country has had and will also have in the future an important contribution to make to achieving the offshore drilling program. Everyone is already aware of the "Gloria"-type offshore drilling platform, as well as the supply ships for it (with power ratings of 2,400 and 4,800 hp). In the following stage, the shipyards will also build for offshore drilling activities drilling rigs, supply and transport ships, high-capacity floating cranes, ships to fight pollution and others.

Special mention must be made in connection with the materials and equipment that are necessary in shipbuilding and whose production requires the participation of other branches. For the first ships that were built in the 1960's nearly all the materials and equipment were imported. Keeping in mind the scope of the ship construction during the period after 1965, we moved to the in-country production of ship components. The main effort was taken on by the mechanical ship enterprises which permanently expanded their scope, even taking on the production of certain types of equipment for which there were specialized enterprises in our country (such as, pumps, electric panels and others). Currently, the great majority of materials and equipment used in the construction of a ship is produced in-country. All these efforts have currently allowed us to reach a level of production integration of 90 to 95 percent, with this figure, by 1990, reaching approximately 100 percent for river ships and 96-98 percent for maritime ships.

Along with the development of shipbuilding activities and with the growth in the number of foreign users of ships built in Romania, ever more sustained efforts have been directed towards improving the technical and quality levels of these ships for the purpose of adhering to national and international regulations which govern the construction and use of ships. Proof of the increase in the quality of ships built in Romania can be seen in the fact that in recent years these ships have been certified first rate by classification companies such as: Lloyd's Register of Shipping in England, the American Bureau of Shipping in the United States, Det Norske Veritas in Norway, the Bureau Veritas in France and others. Similarly, there has been and continues to be

an expansion of cooperation with foreign companies and organizations, both within the socialist countries and the developed capitalist countries, in activities for the design, research and production of shipbuilding and ship equipment.

Less affected by the crisis in recent years which has hit shipbuilding activities throughout the world, the Romanian shipbuilding industry has continued to be developed during this period without, however, losing sight of the need for a radical improvement in the efficiency of its activities and the quality of its products. In order to attain these objectives, special attention was given to activities involving research and the introduction of technical progress, having as the main direction of action the reduction of material consumption, the growth of the level of mechanization and automation of ship construction operations, the reduction of the production cycle and the growth of product quality and reliability. The measures taken to date, as well as those forecast in future programs, will permit the attainment of the goals in the Ship Program through 1990, which call for significant growth in production through the start-up of production on certain new types of maritime and river ships, in parallel with improvements in their technical and quality levels.

[Boxed item] The 15,000 DWT Universal Cargo Ship. This ship is to be used in the transport of general goods, various industrial products, equipment and machinery, lumber in the holds and on-deck, general goods and containers (300 containers weighing 20 tons each in the holds and 128 containers of 12 tons each on the hold covers). This ship is built at the Galati Shipyard and the Tulcea Shipyard. Its speed is 15.5 knots at 85 percent of maximum power, with a 12,000 nautical mile range.

The 12,000 DWT Ferryboat. This roll-on/roll-off ferryboat is to be used to transport railway cars, trucks, automobiles, tractors, agricultural equipment and passengers. It has two variable-pitch propellers, two continuous decks, holds, and facilities in compartments for a crew of 46 and 100 passengers. The engine room is aft. In order to load/unload railcars and other vehicles, the ship is equipped aft with an hydraulically-operated door. Distribution of vehicles on the ship's upper deck and below deck is done via a twin-platform elevator. Roll which may occur during asymmetrical loading is cancelled out through an automated stabilizing system.

The 150,000 DWT Petroleum Tanker. This tanker is the largest capacity ship built to date in Romania's shipyards and at the Constanta Shipyard. This modern ship can carry three categories of crude oil at the same time, with a flame point of +60°C. The tanker has one propeller, one continuous deck and a fore-castle, and 13 tanks having an approximate capacity of 156,280 cubic meters. The engine room and services are located aft while the loading pumps are located fore of the engine room.

The 65,000 DWT Dry Cargo Carrier. This ship has a single deck running from aft to stem, seven separate holds, machine room, crew services aft and is equipped for the transport of dry goods in bulk (iron ore, phosphates, coal, grains and so forth). The speed of the ship under full load is approximately 12 knots. The fuel reserves of this ship ensure a range of approximately 16,000 nautical miles.

BRIEFS

OFFICERS IN TOP PZPR POSTS--The Science and Education Commission of the PZPR Central Committee met on 5 March 1987 under the chairmanship of Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR CC. Members of the commission discussed matters related to the administration of the educational system. Two representatives of the Polish Air Force also hold seats on this commission. They are Col. Prof. Stanislaw Baranski, commandant of the Institute of Military Aviation Medicine, and Gen. Div. Tytus Krawczyk, Air Force commander. [Text] [Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 12, 22 Mar 87 p 2]

AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY PRODUCTION--Despite the severity of the winter weather, the divisions that make up the Association of Aircraft and Aviation Engine Manufacturers -- PZL have gotten off to a good start toward fulfilling their 1987 production targets. Here are some of the unit output statistics for the first two months of 1987: 55 An-2 aircraft, 14 M-18 "Dromader" planes, 26 Mi-2 helicopters, 152 GTD-350 engines (for the Mi-2 helicopter), and 141 ASH-62IR engines (for the An-2 aircraft). [Text] [Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 12, 22 Mar 87 p 2]

'OPAL 87' EXERCISE DETAILS--The "Opal 87" national maneuvers, a multiechelon divisional exercise, was held from 9 to 15 March 1987 in the vicinity of Drawsko Pomorskie in Western Pomerania. The exercise was organized by the Pomeranian Military District command HQS and directed by the district's commander, Gen. Div. Zbigniew Blechman. The "People's Army" 12th Mechanized Division, under the command of Col. Jerzy Slowinski, together with support units were designated to take part in the exercise. This added up to 18,000 soldiers, 150 tanks, 130 antitank weapon systems, including 110 mounted on armored personnel carriers, 100 cannon, mortars, and rocket launchers, and 12 close support helicopters. Fighter-bomber and reconnaissance aviation supported the ground forces operations with 80 flight sorties. Opal 87 was the first exercise to be held in Poland subject to new provisions spelled out by the Stockholm Conference on confidence-building and security measures and disarmament in Europe. In keeping with these new rules, prior notification must be provided for military exercises in which more than 15,000 ground

forces troops or more than 5,000 assault-landing troops take part. Observers from all of the CSCE Final Act signatory states were invited to attend the Opal 87 exercise. It is noteworthy that the maneuvers were designed to complement the spirit of cooperation and security in Europe in that the exercise agenda called only for activities geared toward the refinement of defensive operations in response to tactics employed by the Polish People's Army, not the armed forces of the most likely adversary, and for neutral simulations. The exercise scenario did not call for the deployment of battlefield nuclear weapons. [Text] [Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 12, 22 Mar 87 p 2]

CSO: 2600/494

WORK OF STATE SECURITY SERVICE PRAISED

AU240957 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 20 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by Hatixhe Reka: "A Vigilant Eye"]

[Text] The date of 20 March 1943 marked an important event for our people. Under the care of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha, amidst the flames of the National Liberation War, the State Security Branch was created. During the past 44 years, this branch has contributed to the struggle for the liberation of the homeland and the consolidation of the victories we have achieved, sharpening revolutionary vigilance, and further strengthening our socialist homeland. This beloved weapon of the party and people has been awarded the lofty title of "Hero of the People."

The person who gave the sign was a worker in an enterprise in Tirana. He left his shift and made his way to the Internal Affairs Department in Tirana.

"These two young people come from very good families," he said to the security worker, "but when two foreign visitors came last year, they did not behave properly. Perhaps I am exaggerating, but I have a suspicion. Are we perhaps dealing with enemies of the people in our midst?"

"Later we would meet and talk with this good comrade several times," Perparim Xhoxhi, worker in the Tirana Internal Affairs Department, told us. His report led to the discovery of a group of enemies who were aiming to gather people around them, to engage them in hostile activity against our homeland. They began with these two young people, but they were detected. The people detected them, because the work of workers in state security cannot be understood without close ties and cooperation with ordinary people.

Understood this way, those who discover and eradicate enemies of the people and the homeland are many in number. They include workers in the State Security Branch, operations workers, cooperativists and pupils at school, and the entire people, who have learned through experience to keep their eyes peeled for every enemy.

How many people does Perparim Xhoxhi know, and how many know him? Hundreds and hundreds. Not only in Tirana, but in Shkoder and Pogradec, where he worked for many years in a row. It was there that he began his life as a worker in the security service. There he followed and confronted the movements of the enemy, day and night and without rest. He has many memories. But Perparim does not like to talk about himself. He tells us about his younger colleagues, Ilir Xhelo and Arben Peci, who were recently decorated for performing, with a high sense of responsibility, their duty of detecting and preventing hostile activities. Similarly, another worker in the Tirana Internal Affairs Department, Nuro Sako, tells us about the operations worker, Girjako Prifti.

"Girjako is outstanding for patience and persistency, in detecting and solving problems that arise," Nuro tells us. "He is tireless. Just recently he was accepted as a candidate member of the party. A tireless worker. He worked in production at the 'Enver Hoxha' tractor plant. All the workers in the combine know and like him, and he likes them. He helps them day and night, with advice, with a few words, with a good turn. You always see him together with the workers, and they come and look for him here too. They put him on the watch. And Sokol Shehu is no slouch either. Many comrades from Tirana enterprises come to meet him. These close ties have enabled hostile activities to be promptly detected and prevented. This is the most important part of our work: to rescue people, especially young people. That is what the party teaches us, and what Comrade Ramiz has instructed us to do."

And it is no coincidence that there have been no troublesome problems in the areas where these two comrades work. On one occasion, an incident exposing an attitude alien to our society allowed a hostile act to be discovered and prevented, and led to the thwarting of the efforts of the enemy to corrupt our people and lead them into activity against the state and against the people. The working people in security, and the entire people, watch out for this.

"Hello, can I speak to Mond?"

"He is not here today," the telephone operator replies, and then tells us, "A lot of people ask for Mond, from enterprises, and also from the neighborhood where he lives. He is a tireless social activist. They notified him about a troublesome problem in another district. He left before dawn. His duty to the homeland called him. How often people come and thank him, and come and share their victories."

"It is a particular kind of satisfaction," said Spiro Lami, also a worker at the Tirana Internal Affairs Department. "It is hard to put into words. Our enemies have not slackened their efforts to break our unity and destroy the victories we have achieved. What ways and means have they not used? I will tell you about an incident that occurred in one of our mining collectives. Some imported equipment had arrived, but it was faulty, and was also assembled incorrectly. The lives of workers were endangered. Coincidence? No. In this case too, as always, the foreign enemy was in league with the internal enemy. They wanted to do us harm through accidents too, and through deficiencies in the mine. But they did not achieve their

aims. They were detected and unmasked. As always, the persons wanted in the case were found."

This has always happened to the enemies of our people. They have ended up on the garbage heap of history. Because the entire people keep watch day and night.

/9871

CS0: 2100/32

BRIEFS

DELEGATION VISITS GRAVE--Tirana, 18 March (ATA)--The delegation of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, headed by its speaker, Necmettin Karaduman, paid homage yesterday morning at the cemetery of the nation's martyrs, and laid wreaths by the "Mother Albania" monument and by the grave of the distinguished leader of the Albanian people Enver Hoxha. The Speaker of the Assembly was accompanied by the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly Petro Dode, and the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 18 Mar 87] /9871

ALIA CONCLUDES VISIT TO COROVODE--Tirana, ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 11 March carries on page 1 a 1,200-word ATA report on the conclusion of the visit of Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, to Corovode, Skrapar District, on 9-10 March. The report describes Alia's "conversation" with Skrapar District cadres on the subject of improving performance in the livestock sector. According to the report, Alia returned to Tirana on 10 March, calling at the town of Polican "where he met workers and cadres from the mechanical engineering sector, who gave him a warm and enthusiastic welcome." [Text] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 11 Mar 87 p 1] /9871

CUKO, KONDI ATTEND CELEBRATIONS--Tirana, 9 March (ATA)--Yesterday, 8 March, the Day of International Solidarity of Women, the Presidency of the General Council of the WUA [Women's Union of Albania] and the Presidency of the Women's Union of the district of Tirana organized the traditional meeting in one of the halls of the Palace of Culture. Attending also was member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Lenka Cuko, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and first secretary of the District Party Committee, Comrade Pirro Kondi, and other comrades. [Excerpt] [Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 9 Mar 87] /9871

CSO: 2100/32

GALGOCZI: NEW UNION NOT COUNTER ORGANIZATION FOR WRITERS

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 27 Feb 87 p 7

[Interview with Erzsebet Galgoczi, president of the new trade union for freelance writers, poets and literary translators by Erzsebet Eszeki: "Interest--Protection"]

[Text] An organization to counter the Writers Association? This is what a few western news agencies reported a few weeks ago upon the establishment of the union of writers, poets and literary translators. The western hypothesis, the protection of the professional and social interests of Hungarian writers, and the appropriate perception and tasks of the new organization are the subjects of discussion by Kossuth Award-winning writer Erzsebet Galgoczi, president of the union.

[Question] What do you think of the 9 February report in the Paris LE MONDE, for instance?

[Answer] I was amazed at Thomas Schreiber's article. It would be absurd to perceive the union as an organization that counters the Writers Association, if for nothing else because I am a member of the Presidium of the Writers Association also. Our union was formed to help writers, and to top it off, the idea of forming such a union is not new. The so called "Nine", i.e. the young characters of the anthology entitled "The Unreachable Land" suggested in 1983 that at last, writers should have their union also. If artistes, cascadeurs and even rock singers have unions, why shouldn't we have one also? And so, this is the way we became the eighth branch of the Federation of Artists' Trade Unions [MSZSZ]. Following years of negotiation, the National Federation of Trade Unions [SZOSZ] authorized the establishment of our union last October. That is, prior to the general meeting of the Association.

[Question] Did the writers themselves express a need for their own union?

[Answer] Last October the organizers circulated 150 exploratory letters. All 111 respondents indicated that they would gladly join. And the extent to which this union is not a counter-organization for the Writers Association may be seen in the fact that the Writers Association General Meeting approved the establishment of the union. It was well after the General Meeting that they asked me whether I would accept the presidency of the union.

[Question] Why should a productive writer take upon herself the affairs of a trade union?

[Answer] At the time I was asked they referred to my past as a crusading reporter. And also to the fact that for ten years I was a member of the literary branch of the Foundation for the Arts. Perhaps I also accomplished something for those who live in my native village, Menfocsanak, as a member of the National Assembly. I held constituent days four of five times each year. On such occasions 25-30 people appeared. One day sufficed for listening to their concerns and troubles, but upon my return to Budapest I was on the phone and ran errands on their behalf for an entire week. I am no longer a National Assembly representative, but I know that both beginning writers and older writers need the protection of their interest. If the union can help these two groups only, it will have been worthwhile for me to accept its presidency. This, of course, does not mean that I will stop writing.

[Question] Forgive me for reverting to this subject, but what need is there for a union to protect the interests of freelance writers, poets and literary translators? The Writers Association exists for that purpose. Isn't the protection of professional interests the purpose of the Writers Association?

[Answer] To begin with, at the 31 January organizational meeting we abandoned the limitation by which only freelance writers, poets and literary translators could join. There were many employed writers, such as those in the motion picture industry, who wanted to transfer. The Writers Association cannot protect their interests. True, ten years ago we have elected a committee of three, but the authorities concerned did not recognize the committee as competent to negotiate. The Writers Association is a social organization only, and as such it should only deal with artistic issues, they said. There are a lot of artistic issues, of course. Each year they organize a literary day in Debrecen. There we debate the issues of prose, poetry and critique. Or, for example, at last year's specialized session we debated the relationship between literature and television. The union would not deal with such matters, we would want to deal with the protection of interests. Not only with the protection of professional interests, but also with the improvement of living and working conditions.

[Question] This, on the other hand, is a functional part of the literary branch of the Foundation for the Arts. The Foundation provides financial aid, advances on royalties, vouchers for creative retreats. I recognize the fact that a union is necessary along with the Writers Association, but why should there be a union in addition to the Foundation for the Arts?

[Answer] A new structure must evolve within literary life. At present they are planning to reorganize the tasks of the Foundation also. Our perview will be far greater, but I would have no misgivings if there remain some overlaps, if, e.g. low pension individuals could receive pensions from two sources.

[Question] But overlaps with the Writers Association are unavoidable also, even if the Association limits itself to debating artistic issues, and the writers union to interest protection. The seminal issue of whom the union will recognize as a writer, in itself is an artistic issue.

[Answer] We have decided at our first meeting that the union would not pass upon the qualifications of writers. We will admit to the union anyone who is a member of the Writers Association or of the Foundation for the Arts. The rest of the applicants will be judged individually. We have an office and a telephone. There is a group of professionals to provide assistance.

[Question] Does this mean you have advisers?

[Answer] It means that too. We have a lawyer, for instance, whom we may consult prior to reaching decisions. It also means that a group of experts would represent us at the appropriate levels, if we develop our own program. One official will be available for consultation on Tuesdays.

[Question] May we discuss some specifics also? So far as I know the MSZSZ leadership has already developed a program.

[Answer] We have received a program plan. It is to be finalized on March 3, at the next leadership meeting. We are talking about a long-range plan; we do not believe that we will be showing accomplishments during the initial weeks or months. One has to start somewhere nevertheless, let's say with the improvement of living conditions. We could establish writers' homes in a manner similar to the actors' home. There are many old, lonesome writers who have no funds to hire domestic help, even though they need help. Social security is also part of improving living conditions. I consider it as important that writers who are members of our union too should have physicians, just as journalists have their own network of physicians. It would be good to acquire a greater number and larger amounts of scholarships from the National Council of Trade Unions [SzOT] and from other sources as well, including scholarships that are payable abroad. But we also would like to achieve that the teaching of the Hungarian language and literature receive a higher priority in every type of educational institution. To accomplish this we would have to reestablish the prestige of the teaching profession of course, including pay raises. Not too long ago I read something about teachers' pay being the highest in Japan. It would seem that Far Eastern nations have recognized that their future generations are in the hands of educators. Needless to say, any nation's human resources are its greatest treasure. As a nation short in raw materials, we should pay increased attention to the cultivation of brain power, we should be increasingly concerned about the cerebral resource.

[Question] Many people mistakenly believe that writers earn a lot of money. There are some that do, of course. Do you have verifiable data concerning the income of writers?

[Answer] We do not yet have accurate data, but we may obtain such data from the literary branch of the Foundation for the Arts. We will seek out those who earn the least amounts of money, after all, they too need a union, in addition to the few, indeed exceptionally well-to-do, successful writers. Contrary to common perceptions, the overwhelming majority of writers do not do so well. Many are unable to write for years, or if they do, they do not succeed, because an overly cautious attitude prevents them from publishing. In some instances the work of five or ten years is reflected in one volume. This is another reason why we would like to modernize the system of honoraria. We will initiate changes in laws, because Law No 3 of 1969 is outdated--life has passed by it. We plan to establish a sliding scale within the system of honoraria, one that keeps in step at least with the rate of inflation. We would also like to attend to such "detail" as the accrual of various prizes and premiums toward pensions.

[Question] A few years ago a tax rule was the subject of heated debate. According to that rule, writers would pay taxes in a manner identical to small tradesmen, except for the fact that all income earned by a writer is tied to a personal identification number: every penny earned is recorded by computers. In contrast, a roofer pays taxes on the basis of his own admission. To top it off, a writer may labor on a single literary work for years, and in the final year he will pay taxes after the entire amount, even though his book reflects the work of more than that single year. They are in the process of preparing legal provisions for individual income taxation. Could the writers union influence that legislation?

[Answer] This is one of our most important tasks. It is an untenable situation that as a result of a writer's multi-year accomplishment, taxes take away more than half of the income of say 600,000 forints in the final year, just because by coincidence, thanks to the workings of publishers, printers and distributors, two of his volumes appear in the same year. We must show results--that's the minimum our members should expect from us. The Ministry of Finance will recognize the representatives of the Artists' Trade Union as competent to negotiate. It would also help if writers could receive tax benefits by virtue of the fact that they work out of their homes. A writer does not utilize the facilities and manpower of a workplace, he works in his own apartment, he uses electricity he pays for, he hires a typist on his own. He uses his own phone with respect to official and professional matters.

[Question] To what extent can you influence book publishing? For instance in the decision concerning the number of issues to be published.

[Answer] To accomplish this we must first achieve that writers know in advance the number of copies the publishers intend to produce. I do not believe though that at this time we will be able to show serious accomplishments in the area of book publishing. How could we? At present

publishers are overseen by three ministries. But we would like to see book distribution being recognized as a basic cultural activity, removing it from under the auspices of the Ministry of Domestic Commerce. In this way we could accomplish that book distributors would not have to pay storage penalties, thus rendering classics and handbooks continuously available. We also recommend that authors pay a cultural contribution after privately published works. As I stated before, all this is part of our main objective. There are several other perceptions which complement these.

[Question] Union members are usually referred to as organized labor. According to your perceptions, writers too are workers, even though many of them are being accused--often for good reason--of spending more time outside of their profession than with the writing of belle lettres.

[Answer] One cannot write books in the same way as one would grow tomatoes. Literary work is frequently difficult; it progresses slowly. But if your question pertains to the issue of whether a literate person should pursue his profession rather than to sit in meetings and argue for days, I wholeheartedly agree with you.

[Question] But union work also falls outside the realm of professional work.

[Answer] Nevertheless I feel that concrete achievements could be attained.

12995

CSO: 2500/264

RELEASE OF CONTROVERSIAL FILMS ON STALINISM URGED

Poznan WPROST in Polish No 2, 11 Jan 87 pp 26-27

[Article by Edward Pawlak: "Young Stalinist Wolf Cubs"]

[Text] In a celebrated article "Old Stalinists" (POLITYKA 1986, No 43) that did not produce the expected polemic, Zygmunt Kaluzynski performs a strange masturbation at the end of his thoughts on Stalinism. He shuts himself in his room, pulls out his portrait of Josef Vissarionovich that he saved in October 1956, reads from Pytlakowski's "Foundations," Wilczek's "No 16 Produces," and other standard works of socialist realism, while listening to the mass song "Millions of Hands" on his old record player.

Kaluzynski has a nostalgic attitude toward Stalinism and wants to justify it; thus he cannot understand (as he has shown more than once, most recently when he wrote of the premiere of Jerzy Domaradzki's "The Great Race" in Gdansk, "an unpleasant film as regards those times"), that others, "Young Stalinists" to paraphrase his article, see the years of "mistakes and distortions" differently, through the prism of their own youthful experiences.

These "young wolf cubs" (Osiecka's phrase) threw themselves on the 1950's suddenly with an unusual greediness desiring to fill in the gaps in our knowledge of our own postwar visions and thoughts, to settle their accounts with this period in their own way. Skolimowski's "Hands Up," whose dramatic fate could produce stacks of printed pages, raised the question: Why bring up such carrion from the formaldehyde of history? Thus the many varied excesses of this period were not brought to light, because the dissidents did not want to be fettered or undermined and because the creative artists muzzled with prohibitions were unable to act. There was Munk's "Man on the Tracks," but need I recall the brutal fate that Kluba's "The Sun Rises Once a Day" encountered that caused the director, as he said in an interview, to lose his courage?

And Morgenstern's "Life Once Again" (1965) whose distribution was torpedoed and which received its premiere only 21 years later on television. It is also worth remembering that only a few people selected from above could write about Wajda's "Man of Marble" (obviously, in a critical tone).

The 1950's, Stalinism, were (and still are) an unknown land, reminiscent of the legendary Atlantis; they do not exist in our movie theaters.

The generation of the "Young Wolf Cubs," today in their 40's, remembers that period only through the external ideological landscape of colorful May Day parades, the colorful building fronts with portraits of Stalin and Bierut, the martial, victorious style of songs like "We of the Polish Youth Union--Do Not Fear the Reactionaries." But the "wolf cubs," feeling an internal need to settle their accounts with this past, wanted to speak of their youth and what is wrong with that. Wojciech Marczewski, director of "Thriller" admitted: "My childhood fell during the Stalinist period. I think that many of us retain a deep internal scar."

A number of interesting films that settle accounts have appeared: Wojciech Wiszniewski's semi-documentary about outstanding workers, Filip Bajon's "Pendulum," Wojciech Marczewski's "Thriller," Feliks Falk's "There was Jazz," Andrzej Kostenko's "Friends," Janusz Zaorski's "Mother of Kings" Jerzy Domaradzki's "The Great Race." This type of film is not entirely too late, as Kaluzynski believes; they were suddenly blocked, and the "wolf cubs" had to take up other problems. In other words taking up the period of "mistakes and distortions" is still not well received, and we should not expect it to get better. Take the case of "The Great Race," one of the most mature films of this type, which still has not reached the public. "The Great Race," to a screenplay by Falk, lay on the shelves for years and was finally shown at last year's Gdansk festival, where it received the Silver Lions. It was released for distribution, but when friends ask me where they can see it, I answer: nowhere! For it is nowhere to be seen, ladies and gentlemen. As far as I know, it was to be shown in studio theaters and film discussion clubs, but it is now evident that it will be shown only on television (it is true that the no longer existent "X" Group produced it for television), a peculiar method of distribution. On television it will fly past like a meteor and be over and gone, and it will be possible to say it was on television! This is the ostrich's method, cowardice, and it can be described no other way, especially if we remember how the prohibited films in the Soviet Union are reaching the public: they are in the theaters, and some of them have been recorded on cassettes for sale in the West, as could be seen in an issue of SOVETSKIY FILM last year. Meanwhile, "The Great Race" ought to be buried deeply from the public's eyes, why should it see the bitter truth about a period that has today fallen into history.

The action takes place in 1952 and it is the history of a great "Peace Race," one of the many organized at the time. But not everyone can participate in the race; only the outstanding workers and activists of the Polish Youth Union. All around there are storm parties, signs like "Stalin--Peace," portraits of the leader; songs wishing "May your body and spirit remain young." In a word, a great parade that has little in common with sport.

The trim young men in long pants have come from all over the country and for many different reasons, not just political ones, to race. The dream of winning the statuette which Bierut himself is to award in the Wroclaw hall, of demonstrating their strength, of, like one of them, to hand the President a letter, a request to pardon a wrongly accused father. All are infected with

the slogans, the numb newspeak; they express themselves as they have been officially trained.

The manipulators are everywhere. The overenthusiastic activist (a sensational performance by Krzysztof Pieczynski), who in step with the times sees enemies everywhere and in everyone, awakens dread with his fanatical blindness, his ideological aggression. He manipulates the young enthusiasts, the race results, the ideology, in order not to betray the trust, to be noticed by those who can raise him much higher. He courts a radio reporter, others too put on a facade, and only the chairman played by Leon Niemczyk revolts against the total fraud.

Domaradzki makes all the mistakes of the period visible with force, without make up, without emotional rage. The various attitudes of the organizers and the athletes clash, showing the methods that created the Great Fiction. But under this beautiful facade lay dramas and suffering. The great race instead of athletic satisfaction brings the runners a bitter lesson in living, and it leads to the death of one of them.

"The Great Race" is a movie that speaks of the difficult years of Stalinism in a serious and frank manner. It is unpleasant, as Kaluzynski wrote, but was the period of "mistakes and distortions" so pleasant? This is why the "The Great Race" has had so much trouble reaching the public and its vicissitudes have demonstrated once again that this subject still has not received a green light.

13021

CSO: 2600/378

BRIEFS

'POLITICALLY CORRECT' FILMS NOT PROGRESSIVE—At last year's celebrated Soviet writers meeting, the poet Andrei Voznesenskiy said: "Our chief internal enemy is not critical literature but the bureaucratic machine and the disorder of old thinking that impedes progress." Do these words not apply to us now? Even if just to the movies released from their prohibitions that cannot be seen anywhere! Are "The Great Race," "The Accident," "Mother of Kings" so blackened, so politically damaging to maintain a ban on them for several years and then limit the public's access to them? The dissidents should worry more about works produced because they were "correct" or that followed "the line" but whose poor quality and triteness or dogmatic thinking produced no benefit for, or even frequently parodied, a worthwhile cause. I will not list any titles, for the list would be too long; besides everyone knows which works they are. Disorder and burying our heads in the sand will get us nowhere; they are the enemies of progress. [Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 3, 18 Jan 87 p 3] 13021

POLITBURO SETS FILM REFORMS—The PZPR Politburo familiarized itself with the proposed reforms in the system for programing and managing cinematography. The proposed new law that has been in labor for several years (there have been 13 versions!) proposes, among other things, the creation, in the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts, of a Cinematography Committee to be the central state administrative body, and a number of crucial structural changes, including transforming most film enterprises into film institutes while retaining their self-managing status to ensure the priority of the cultural tasks of cinematography. [Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 2, 11 Jan 87 p 3] 13021

CINEMA PRODUCTION BUDGET NOTED—For 1987 cinematography has received nearly 4.5 billion zloty or about 20 percent more than last year. However, the increased costs of producing films and the need to "fill in holes" in the technical area means there will be fewer films. There will be 30 to 32 films made, or about three or four fewer than last year. [Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 2, 11 Jan 87 p 3] 13021

CENSUS STATISTICS NOTED—At the end of last year there were 37,574,000 Poles. In 1986 about 635,000 babies were born or 40,000 fewer than in 1985. The infant mortality rate declined from 12.5 to about 11 per 1,000. The number of divorces fell by more than 3,000; the number of marriages also declined: there were 259,000. The mortality for men over 35 years of age increased.

[Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 3, 18 Jan 87 p 2] 13021

RADIO, TV FEES INCREASE--The monthly fee for radio and television rose on January 1 from 150 to 200 zloty. [Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 3, 18 Jan 87 p 2] 13021

TIGHTER GUN CONTROL URGED--Gas pistols and revolvers, more of which are being smuggled into Poland, are frequently used in crimes. In order to prevent this, the appropriate limitations have been introduced. They include requiring a license to possess and use this type of equipment, similar to that required for firearms. [Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 3, 18 Jan 87 p 2] 13021

ARMED ROBBERY AT POZNAN PEWEX--In the center of Poznan a Pewex store was robbed; one of the robbers used a weapon. The robbery was reminiscent of a scene from a gangster film. Two men with their faces covered by knitted stocking caps and holding what looked like pistols terrorized the personnel and customers and then took a large sum of convertible currency and Polish Security Bank scrip coupons [bony]. [Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 3, 18 Jan 87 p 2] 13021

ZAKOPANE HOTEL PROJECT CONSIDERED--There is a shortage of hotels in Zakopane. The old ones have decayed, and the new ones, like the Gazda or the Kasprowy, are aging. The construction of a 600-bed hotel on Antalowka and a large hotel on Gubalowka is to be contracted out to the Argentines, who have expressed an interest in these projects. [Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 3, 18 Jan 87 p 2] 13021

SHAVING CREAM SHORTAGE--Not only is there a shortage of toilet paper and detergent, but now for a long time there has been a shortage of shaving cream. The manufacturers claim, according to a survey done by ZYCIE WARSZAWY, that shipments to market have been made according to plan. The question is: Where is the shaving cream? Oh, that there be no shortage of razor blades, for then whether they want to or not men will have to grow beards. [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 3, 18 Jan 87 p 2] 13021

CULTURE MINISTRY PROPOSALS NOTED--Minister Aleksander Krawczuk outlined the plans for enlarging the number of state video libraries from the present 20 to 200 in 1990; the earmarking of \$330,000 for the purchase of paints and brushes; the socialist countries' intent to create a common industry producing items for culture; the planned limitation of various festivals, decades, days, springs, and reviews; and also the limitation of museums' purchases to works of the greatest value or ones that fit their profile. Museums, as Prof Krawczuk ironically though correctly said, are buying chiefly for their warehouses, in which works are exposed to humidity, mice, and sometimes only thieves, who bring them out into the light of day, take pity on them. Books, unfortunately, are and will be more expensive. The reform in a sense works to the disadvantage of culture. Enterprises are not freed from taxes on sums devoted to culture. [Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 4, 25 Jan 87 p 3] 13021

BOOKS REMAIN EXPENSIVE—Jerzy Trela in an interview for RZECZPOSPOLITA: "I am in a bookstore in a small Polish town. On the shelves are Ivan Bunin's "Short Stories." My friend, an excellent, well-known artist wants to purchase the book. He picks it up, looks at the price, lays 20 zloty on the counter, and says to me, Jerzy, please give me 500 zloty. I did not understand him. Please give me 500 zloty, he repeated; you are a Sejm deputy. I can afford it, but you ought to pay. This book cannot cost 520 zloty! He was right. Where books are sold, they produce a profit; we must consider this thoroughly. No revolution will change this. We must find the mistake and correct it quickly, for we can lose ourselves as a people. We fought with illiteracy and won. What are we doing now?" [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 4, 25 Jan 87 p 3] 13021

LODZ DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETS—The Lodz Voivodship Defense Committee met on 9 January 1987 with the City President Jaroslaw Pietrzyk presiding. Gmina chairman Wladyslaw Lutoslawski reported on the state of defense preparedness in the Zgierz Gmina. In accepting the report it was recommended that its conclusions be implemented. The eight-year plan for modernizing the defense structures presented by Lt Col Alfred Szatkowski, the deputy inspector for schools and education, was also discussed. The tasks in this subject are to be elaborated by the end of February and discussed again during the first quarter of this year. Information was presented on the socio-political situation, public law and order in the Lodz Voivodship, and the conclusions presented were accepted. Prof Mieczyslaw Serwinski, chairman of the National Council of the City of Lodz, participated in the meeting of the defense council. [Text] [Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY 10-11 Jan 87 p 2] 13021

PRZEMYSL DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETING—In its evaluation of the state of public law and order in the voivodship at its meeting on 20 January, the Przemysl Voivodship Defense Committee claimed that the enforcement and preventive actions, undertaken by the investigative bodies and the justice administration, have significantly contributed to limiting the effects of social pathology and to increasing discipline in the region. Gen Arms Jozef Uzycki, head of the General Staff of the Polish Army and deputy minister for national defense, participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 21 Jan 87 p 2] 13021

CSO: 2600/378

INCOMPATIBILITY OF RELIGION, REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 20, 30 Oct 86 pp 30-33

[Article by Univ Reader Dr Octavian Nistor: "Scientific-Materialist and Revolutionary-Humanist Indoctrination Essential to Advanced Socialist Awareness"]

[Text] As it has been pointed out in the documents of the 13th Party Congress and in Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches, the radical reforms being made in Romanian society and the extensive continuation of the revolutionary process in Romania require a more intensive all-around effort to develop all workers' revolutionary socialist awareness and to firmly oppose the various obscurantist and backward attitudes and behavior toward work and life. This effort is based upon the historical and dialectical materialist revolutionary theory and upon the new advances of world science and knowledge, and it is called upon to arm youth and the masses with an advanced philosophical viewpoint while helping to form firm scientific-materialist convictions and to improve the professional and political training of the communists and all workers. In view of these considerations ERA SOCIALISTA is starting publication in this issue of a series of consultations in support of the effort toward scientific-materialist and revolutionary humanist education.

Construction of the fully developed socialist society in Romania requires some qualitative social changes as well as a radical restructuring of society's cultural activity and people's awareness. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "If we intend to change society and the individual and to learn the secrets of nature and change it, we must first seek to change the individual's awareness. Otherwise we cannot change society either."

Under the present circumstances, with an unprecedented development of the role and influence of the purposeful subjective factor throughout society, a greater political-educational effort must be made to improve the workers' awareness and to form the new man on the lasting basis of the revolutionary view of the world and life, namely historical and dialectical materialism.

This regular revolutionary process, which is making radical qualitative changes in the entire people's thought and experience, requires sustained efforts toward scientific-materialist and revolutionary-humanist education, increasingly intensive promotion of the revolutionary view of the world and life, and firm opposition to backward, mystical attitudes and behavior as its vital objectives.

Objective and Subjective Reasons for Disappearance of Religious Ideas

In the RCP's view, which is based on the principles of scientific socialism and historical and dialectical materialism, religion is a social-historical phenomenon that appeared at a certain stage of social development and will disappear when all the objective and subjective reasons for it have been eliminated. As Marx said in "Capital," "In general, the religious reflection of the real world cannot disappear until everyday, practical relations become clear and rational relations among people and between people and nature. The mystic veil that covers the social process, that is the process of material production, will not be lifted until the latter becomes a product of men's free society and is under their planned and purposeful control. But that requires a certain material base of society, that is a number of material requirements for existence, which in their turn are the natural outcome of a long and laborious historical development." Accordingly, religious alienation, which was the main form of mental enslavement of human behavior for millennia, cannot be eliminated without revolutionary social reform.

Romania's experience fully bears out the historical and dialectical materialist principle that liberation of the masses from any form of mental enslavement and alienation, especially religious alienation, first requires liberation of society from oppression and exploitation, formation of new social relations and structures, and socialist and communist construction.

Socialism has given Romanian society the most radical, extensive and profound structural reform of its social, political and economic system. Abolition of capitalist ownership of the production means and any forms of oppression or exploitation, the triumph of socialist production relations, and the increasingly extensive promotion of socialist democracy have provided the objective and subjective grounds for religious disalienation, which grounds are being constantly strengthened in the course of building the fully developed socialist society. A new awareness, namely socialist awareness, was formed and is being developed on the basis of the new social existence, development and modernization of the production forces, and the improved social and production relations.

The revolutionary changes in Romanian society, the masses' wide access to learning, science and culture, the RCP's extensive political-ideological and cultural-educational work, and consistent promotion of the revolutionary view of the world and life (historical and dialectical materialism) and the principles of socialist ethics and justice and revolutionary humanism have made essential changes in people's mentality, thinking and attitudes and restricted the influence of religious ideas.

Construction of the new order and the tireless effort toward its all-around improvement are the main factors for changing people's awareness and gradually freeing them from mystical-religious ideas. In the practical work of socialist and communist construction, people change themselves while changing nature and social relations. Work and social activity are accordingly the controlling factor in shaping the awareness and in socialist education of the masses.

By instituting new economic and social-political relations, socialism provides for full development of the personality, release of all citizens' creative aptitudes, and accordingly people's liberation from belief in supernatural powers.

As a result religion is undergoing a process of erosion and degeneration. But this phenomenon is not to be interpreted in a simplistic, monistic or quantitative way but as a long, drawn out and contradictory dialectical process.

The sociological studies bring out the fact that the objective and subjective conditions created by the new order are essential to but inadequate for the abolition of religion. Revolutionary social reform does not automatically suppress religion as a social phenomenon although it eliminates the basic causes of it, namely exploitation, oppression and social inequality. Socialism is no abstract idea but a real, living and dynamic social system in a state of constant improvement, with some malfunctions, lags and difficulties to overcome and certain contradictions to resolve.

Ignorance of the possibilities and means of resolving social contradictions, existence of shortcomings and defects, and confrontation with bureaucratic practices and remnants of the old can cause dissatisfaction and foster religious tendencies and states of mind. For some, adoption of a religious belief is an "answer" to their inability to overcome such difficulties. The set of values promoted by religion gives them a false impression of resolving their real personal and social contradictions and inner frustrations by obscuring their real circumstances and pictures of themselves and by resorting to the supernatural and the promise of a "happiness" that ultimately proves illusory.

Changing people's awareness and arming them with an advanced view of life and society and with the latest advances of world science and knowledge are among the most far-reaching tasks, and one of their main components is scientific-materialist and revolutionary-humanist education, which is expected to make an active contribution to liberation from any backward, mystical influence and to scientific interpretation and explanation of the processes of experience and of the material and mental world in general.

Religious Ideology Incompatible with the Revolutionary View of the World

In the RCP's and Nicolae Ceausescu's view religious problems are subjected to a comprehensive treatment with many aspects, namely frank acknowledgement of the inevitable conflict between religious doctrines and the revolutionary view of the world; the Romanian socialist state's guarantee of freedom of conscience; the duty of all citizens, including religious sects and believers, to obey the laws of the land; and further improvement of the political-educational effort to broaden the masses' knowledge and to form scientific-materialist convictions.

The party's fully scientific, realistic and creative policy on this matter is based upon the theoretical and methodological principles of historical and dialectical materialism. Determined opposition to religious ideology is a general characteristic of the revolutionary view of the world and life and the essence of the scientific attitude toward the religious phenomenon. On the basis of its consistently materialist solution of the basic philosophical problem of the relationship between social existence and social awareness and between matter and thought, historical and dialectical materialism studies reality in its entirety and reveals the most general principles and laws of development of nature, society and knowledge, reflecting a new, revolutionary and reforming attitude. Since it provides a unified determinist-materialist explanation and

interpretation of nature and society that is incompatible with the backward, antiscientific and mystical-religious theories, the revolutionary view of the world and life inherently includes scientific atheism as one of its basic components.

As contrasted with the creationist theories to the effect that nature, society, man and the whole universe are the product of supernatural powers, historical and dialectical materialism is based upon scientific advances and the data confirmed by social-historical experience, and it demonstrates by sound arguments that the world is material and matter is an objective reality, independent of man's will and awareness, infinite in space and time, and indestructible. Accordingly to be a materialist means to interpret the world as it is with no outside input. Natural and social phenomena are governed by objective laws, and it is not necessary to appeal to preconceived supernatural causes in order to explain them. The idea of the world's materiality logically and cogently refutes the religious versions of the origin of nature and society.

In the revolutionary view matter is in constant motion and change. The cause of the motion is not outside of matter, and it is not generated by any "initial impulse" or divine being but by the internal contradictions inherent in every phenomenon or process. The materialist view of the autodynamism of matter and of self-motion and self-development refutes the existence of any divine powers or any mental factors before or outside of the material world, an idea supported by the idealist, mentalist and fideist conceptions.

In demonstrating the materiality of the world and nature the revolutionary theory also interprets society in a materialist-determinist way. Man's historical evolution has confirmed the fundamental principle of historical materialism that social existence and the development of the productive forces determine both the nature of the production relations and, ultimately, the political and philosophical conceptions, the level of people's thought and awareness, and general social progress. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We communists know that the world was not created by any higher, divine power and that no one stands anywhere directing social development or the organization of people's lives. Every day and hour science brings more and more new and irrefutable evidence concerning the formation of man and nature and the materiality and infinity of the universe. Experience tells us that people today are becoming more and more capable of changing nature and society and discovering any secret of nature or social development."

The historical and dialectical materialist view of the world and life is closely related to science, being constantly developed and enriched by the facts revealed by the new gains of human knowledge. It is the outcome of all that man has created that is better and a veritable synthesis of the conclusions, data and theories of all the sciences. In our era, when human knowledge has acquired unprecedented proportions and science is bringing more and more new proofs of the world's materiality and the dialectical development of society, atheism is acquiring a profoundly scientific character, consistency and cogency.

Historical and dialectical materialism demonstrates that man can learn the secrets of nature and the universe and fathom the laws of social development, and it also provides us with a better understanding of the significance of man's role and lot by promoting a new, revolutionary humanism wherein the individual

is the supreme social value. In its respect for human dignity, socialist humanism considers man the supreme being, the active and purposeful creator of his own material and mental world, and certainly not a manifestation of the will of any presumed supernatural powers.

Accordingly the full development of man, the highest product of nature and the creator of all that exists in society, and confidence in the power he has acquired through knowledge most clearly indicate the profoundly humanistic significance of the revolutionary view of the world and life and its incompatibility with religious ideology. As a scientific overview of the world, based on the most general developmental laws of nature, society and thought, the RCP's dialectical-materialist conception is both a scientific explanation of reality and a method of revolutionizing the world and human relations.

Freedom of Conscience in Socialist Society

Experience and the facts of the new order demonstrate that the policy of the RCP and the Romanian socialist state on religion and religious sects is profoundly scientific, realistic and in accord with the nature of socialist relations and with the broadly democratic and revolutionary-humanistic character of Romanian socialist society.

In speaking of the inevitable ideological conflict between the principles of dialectical and historical materialism and mystical-religious ideas, and also of relations between the socialist state and the religious sects in Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We communists are guided by the scientific view of the world's materiality and strongly oppose superstitions, mysticism and idealist schools of thought. Moreover the party and state policy and all society are based on respect for people's beliefs, freedom of conscience, and free expression of the sects within the state's laws, in view of the fact that every citizen and every member of any sect regardless of his religious belief must obey the laws and serve the cause of building the new socialist order in Romania."

Relations between the state and the religious sects cannot be considered abstractly, apart from any particular social-historical determinations characteristic of each country and developmental stage or from each people's distinctive historical and national characteristics. They have acquired a new content in Romanian society under socialism, being governed by the socioeconomic and political structures characteristic of the new order and by the nature of workers revolutionary democracy as well as the standards of revolutionary socialist humanism. Moreover in establishing these relations consideration is given to the regularly growing civil rights and freedoms as socialist democracy broadens. Furthermore an important role in establishing the relations between the socialist state and the church is played by Romania's historical-national traditions and characteristics and by the stands taken by the religious institutions, clergy and believers at various stages and points in the Romanian people's history.

For the Romanian socialist state, the 14 sects active in Romania are equal in rights and obligations, and none is privileged, dominant or subordinate. Religious persecutions and discrimination have been permanently stopped, and interdenominational conflicts, intolerance and religious exclusivism are prohibited. Relations between the state and the sects are characterized by mutual respect, noninterference by the state in the church's internal affairs, and also by observance of the nation's laws on the part of the religious institutions.

In Romania the schools are entirely separate from the church, and education and instruction of the young generation are the sole prerogatives of the socialist state. As stated in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania, no religious denomination, congregation or community may open or maintain any educational institutions other than special schools to train sect personnel. The law also prohibits religious propaganda outside of sect institutions. Accordingly Nicolae Ceausescu points out that "We intend to go on providing for the religious sects' normal activity, in conformity with the national laws and Constitution. Naturally we would not allow anyone to use these sects for any activity against the people, socialist construction, or national sovereignty and independence, nor will we allow it in the future. I believe that in general, the religious sects will concern themselves with their own problems, fully respect the state's laws, and support the policy of socialist construction and general social development as well as Romania's policy of peace, collaboration and détente."

This view is very timely now that on the international level some reactionary imperialist circles are trying to make some sects tools of the policy of interference in the respective countries' internal affairs. Therefore it is vital to strictly distinguish between religion as a form of alienation and between religious activity within socialist laws and political exploitation of religious feelings by reactionary circles abroad as an anticommunist weapon.

Romanian society appreciates the loyalty of the representatives of the religious sects to the Romanian state's domestic and foreign policies and their help in accomplishing the aims of national socioeconomic development. Leaders and other representatives of the sects participate in Romanian public affairs, enabling them to directly express their opinions on the most important national questions. Accordingly the 14 religious sects belong to the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, and representatives of theirs have also been elected to the Grand National Assembly.

In its relations with the religious sects and in its attitude toward the believers the socialist state is guided by the need of securing the entire people's complete unity in the task of socialist and communist construction, beyond the ideological contradictions between atheists and believers. It is a fact of Romanian society that all citizens regardless of nationality, language, sex or religious belief are working in close unity and with equal rights and obligations to carry out the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism and for the entire Romanian people's welfare and happiness. As Nicolae Ceausescu said about this, "The Socialist Democracy and Unity Front reflects the broadest democracy and representation of all social categories regardless of belief. It unites in a powerful symbiosis both communists and noncommunists and people with different philosophical views but just one conviction, that of serving the people, the nation, and socialism and communism."

The Constitution proclaims and guarantees freedom of conscience in the sense that "Anyone is free to share a religious belief or not" (Article 30). The full guarantee of freedom of conscience is essential to true democracy and is based on the principle of equality of rights and obligations of all Romanian citizens regardless of nationality, race, sex or religion, a principle applied in all

economic, political, legal, social and cultural activities, so that religious belief or disbelief is no longer a subject of discrimination or restriction of civil rights and freedoms. The Romanian socialist state excludes any division of people according to belief or disbelief, considering intolerable any distinction in civil rights based on religious belief. The state does not intervene with administrative distinctions in matters of its citizens conscience. But it makes an intensive scientific-materialist educational effort in the performance of its cultural-educational effort. An important part in this is played by the social-political organizations, the mass and public organizations, the schools, the institutions of culture and art, the press, radio and TV, publishing houses etc.

Accordingly freedom of conscience is not to be interpreted unilaterally as just religious freedom. It also means the individual's freedom to have materialist, atheist-scientific convictions and to be nonreligious. While respecting freedom of conscience and emphasizing improvement of the people's knowledge, understanding and culture, the Romanian state provides for true freedom and unrestricted expression of the personality.

Misinterpretation of the principle of freedom of conscience may lead to underrating the role of scientific-materialist educational efforts or neglect of them on the pretext of safeguarding the believers' freedom of conscience. The Romanian socialist state's policy of securing the religious sects' free expression according to law also includes the communists' duty to work consistently for promotion of the scientific, historical and dialectical materialist view of the world.

The relationship between religious freedom as an integral part of freedom of conscience and scientific-materialist educational work has important theoretical and practical implications, especially when anticommunist propaganda is disparaging the new order on the ground that it "restricts" religious freedoms and that promotion of the scientific-materialist view is "incompatible" with any real freedom of conscience.

Socialism, which considers the individual the supreme social value, creates the material and cultural conditions for the masses to enjoy true freedom and to fully develop in all fields. But freedom in general, and accordingly freedom of conscience, involves responsibility as essential to its manifestation. The Romanian socialist state is implementing the broadest and fullest freedom of conscience for all citizens, which involves rights, but social responsibilities too. Therefore the free activity of the religious sects recognized by the state also requires unfailing obedience to the nation's laws on the part of all citizens without distinction. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "While belief is a matter of each citizen's own conscience and the status of the sects is recognized by the state in accordance with the Constitution, which guarantees the citizens' practice of any of the beliefs, at the same time we must say frankly that all citizens, regardless of their philosophical views or religious beliefs, must scrupulously obey the laws of the land. Of course these obligations must also be honored by the sects, which are expected to respect the Constitution, the nation's laws and the Romanian socialist system in their activity."

These principles and requirements have a profound human value and their observance leaves no room for the activity of the so-called religious sects that

illegally propagate or maintain antisocial attitudes incompatible with social progress and with the feelings and way of life and thought of the new man of Romanian society. The antiscientific and antihuman views and practices of those sects, their refusal to exercise the basic civil rights and obligations, their prevention of their members' access to any culture other than their religious one, and their rejection of science and the benefits of civilization are to be most firmly opposed because they are incompatible with the principles of freedom and human dignity and with the cause of social progress.

The 13th RCP Congress Calls for More Scientific-Materialist Education

In their extensive scientific-materialist and revolutionary-humanist educational effort the communists approach religious questions like revolutionaries, guided by the historical and dialectical materialist view of the world and life based on the latest advances of world science and knowledge.

Increasingly intensive promotion of the revolutionary spirit, determined opposition to all that is old and outmoded in all sectors including awareness, and constant promotion of the new and all that is advanced in all social activity are first requirements for the further progress of Romanian socialist society. The militant revolutionary spirit accordingly involves firm opposition to the various backward attitudes and man's liberation from cultural alienation of the religious type, which has restricted his dignity and freedom for millennia by tying his fate to the existence of supernatural powers.

Accordingly, active promotion of the RCP's revolutionary view of the world and life is vital to scientific-materialist education, to formation and development of advanced socialist awareness, and to the all-around development of the personality.

Therefore shaping the masses' awareness must be based upon the RCP's theoretical and ideological view of the world and life, which is being constantly improved and enriched under socialism in step with the changes made in the material base, in the social structure, in the superstructure, and in knowledge and comprehension of the world around us.

As it says in the Report to the 13th RCP Congress, political-education work needs redoubled all-around efforts to improve all workers' revolutionary socialist awareness and to firmly oppose the various obscurantist, mystical-religious and backward attitudes toward work and life. The party secretary general said, "Let us not for a moment forget that various foreign ideas as well as attitudes of the old bourgeois-landowner society are still being expressed, that not all citizens have permanently broken with the attitudes and practices of the past, and that unfortunately the latter are even still influencing some youths. And we must also not forget that all kinds of influences foreign to the Romanian revolutionary view of the world and life are still coming in from outside."

Scientific-materialist educational work is an essential component of the ideological and political-educational effort to form and develop the revolutionary socialist awareness of the communists and all workers, and it must proceed from the consideration that the persistence of backward, unscientific ideas obstructs understanding of the real relationships between man and nature, of the laws that govern the universe, and of the objective requirements of social development, as well as man's struggle for self-determination.

In the light of the 13th RCP Congress' decisions to redouble the political-ideological and cultural-educational effort to form the new man with an advanced revolutionary socialist awareness, scientific-materialist and revolutionary-humanist education is to improve the masses' knowledge, regularly cultivate the fundamental social, political and moral values of Romanian socialist society, oppose backward manifestations and idealist or fideist ideas, and promote the dialectical materialist view of the world and life.

Modern scientific advances cannot be fully understood or used in scientific-materialist education apart from the historical-materialist outlook and the laws of dialectical materialism. Scientific disciplines are not enough in themselves and do not necessarily lead to a scientific view of the world. They must be sown on the fertile soil of the historical and dialectical-materialist view of nature and society. Historical and dialectical materialism is an advanced, living and revolutionary conception that not only explains the fundamental laws governing constant change in the world and in the organization of people's lives as well as the continuous progress of human thought, knowledge and practice but also arms people for the struggle for progressive revolutionary change both in the world around them and in their own material and cultural existence. Therefore scientific-materialist education must be viewed multilaterally and transmission of scientific knowledge must be accompanied by dialectical-materialist philosophical conclusions.

Nicolae Ceausescu says, "Essentially, we communists actually intend to come to the aid of nature, so to speak, which has synthesized in man the higher organization of matter, by making every effort to encourage his most noble qualities, to develop his sensibilities and his desire and will to outdo himself, to keep enlarging his knowledge, and to fulfill his boldest dreams of progress, justice and happiness."

In the light of the RCP Ideological Program, further expansion of human knowledge and development of man's ability to understand and interpret the world around him and to use the laws of nature and society to best meet his needs are essential characteristics of social progress and main objectives of building the fully developed socialist society.

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CSO: 2700/139

1965-1985 FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD BALKAN STATES REVIEWED

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 11, Nov 86 pp 1051-1067

[Article by Elisabeta Petreanu: "New Aspects of Romanian Policy on Development of Friendly, Peaceful, and Cooperative Relations with all Countries in Southeast Europe (1965-1985)]

[Text] Romania's relations with the countries of Southeast Europe developed at a higher level over the period following the 9th Congress of the PCR. This period bears the stamp of the thought and action of the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. At the 9th PCR Congress in 1965, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu analyzed Romanian activities at the international level and formulated the fundamental goals of Romanian foreign policy, which has been oriented primarily toward development of friendly and cooperative relations with all the countries in the world socialist system, together with development of all countries irrespective of political system, in a spirit of peaceful coexistence on a mutually advantageous basis. Particular attention was paid to relations with the countries in Southeast Europe. In his report presented to the congress, the secretary general of the PCR stated that the development of friendly, good-neighbor relations among all the Southeast European countries is in harmony with the interests of the countries in this part of the world and with traditional cooperation and friendship, which are essential for peace and security in Southeast Europe. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the importance of relations with the socialist countries in Southeast Europe (Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania), and at the same time assigned great value to positive evolution of relations between Romania and other countries in this part of the continent. In this context he emphasized importance of better relations with Greece, in the spirit of the traditional friendship between the two countries and peoples, and also expressed Romania's desire to see relations with Turkey improve in keeping with the interests of the two countries and peoples and with the need for strengthening peace and cooperation in Southeast Europe. "Our country," stated Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in the report presented to the 9th PCR Congress, "will continue to develop economic, technical-scientific, and cultural relations with all countries, in the belief that multilateral trade on the basis of mutual advantage, with no political preconditions and with no restrictions or

discrimination, contributes toward relaxation of international tensions and toward rapprochement of peoples and is an important factor in strengthening peace" (Footnote 1) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul desavirsirii constructiei socialiste" [Romania on the Way to Completing Socialist Construction], Vol 1, Editura politica, 1968, p 100).

Romania's relations with Southeast European countries have developed on the basis and in the spirit of these guidelines (Footnote 2) (For further details, see "Sub semnul prieteniei fratesti romano-iugoslave" [Under the Banner of Fraternal Romanian-Yugoslav Friendship], Editura politica, Bucharest, 1977, pp 118-129; see also "Sub semnul prieteniei fratesti romano-bulgare" [Under the Banner of Friendly Romanian-Bulgarian Friendship], Editura politica, Bucharest, 1977, pp 52,55).

During the years following the 9th PCR Congress, political as well as economic and cultural relations with the countries in this part of Europe have undergone complex and varied development. Of course, in the evolution of Romania's relations with the countries of Southeast Europe its relations with the socialist countries have taken place in a specific context determined by community of political order and of the fundamental goals and aspirations of their peoples. Pursuing the common goal of building socialism through the heroic efforts of their peoples and inspired by the noble ideals of national progress, peace, and cooperation, the socialist countries of southeast Europe have established relations of a new type among themselves, on the basis of the principles and standards of international law. They are relations of cooperation, equality, and mutual respect serving to protect and satisfy the interests of the countries and peoples. Over the 1965-1985 period cooperative relations between Romania and the countries in Southeast Europe developed harmoniously in accordance with the politics and interests promoted by the governments and the political and decision making authorities of these countries, in keeping with the specific tasks of building socialism and creating a new climate of peace and international cooperation.

Periodic bilateral high-level contacts, meetings between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and the leaders of these countries, have been of cardinal importance, as have also meetings of other representatives of Romania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria and of public organizations in Romania and Albania (Footnote 3) (LUMEA, No 6, 1971, p 8). Discussions and negotiations conducted in an atmosphere of mutual respect have led to joint resolutions and agreements followed by joint projections and options. All this has made a material contribution to development of cooperation, friendship, and understanding, to the building of socialism in each country individually and as a group, and to creation of a climate of cooperation and understanding so greatly needed by the entire Southeast European region. The high-level meetings and discussions have proved to be decisive in bringing about strengthening of good-neighbor relations and in finding new ways of intensifying and diversifying multilateral relations to pursue for mutual benefit the objectives of cooperation that have been agreed upon (Footnote 4) (Ilie Olteanu, "New Prospects for Continuing Development of Romanian-Bulgarian Relations of Friendship and Multilateral Cooperation," LUMEA, No 36, 1977, p 1).

They have at the same time provided just as many occasions for demonstrating the historic dimensions of the friendly and cooperative relations between the Romanian people and the peoples in this part of the continent of Europe. In 1967, on the occasion of a visit to Romania by a party and state delegation from the People's Republic of Bulgaria, headed Todor Zhivkov, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out the scope of the friendship between the Romanian people and the Bulgarian people over time. "The friendship between the Romanian people and the Bulgarian people," said the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, "date from the remote past. For centuries in succession Romanians and Bulgarians shared a similar fate and suffered under the yoke of national oppression. On more than one occasion the most advanced sons of the two peoples fought together, supporting each other in the fight against foreign invaders for national and social liberation" (Footnote 5) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul desavirsirii constructiei socialiste," Vol 2, Editura politica, Bucharest, 1968, p 236). Recalling that Romanian-Bulgarian friendship was sealed in the fight to eliminate Ottoman Turkish domination and to attain to full political and national independence, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on this occasion evoked the memorable pages of the history of this friendship founded "on the battlefields at Grivita, Plevna, and Smirdan, by glorious feats of arms and through the blood spilled in common" (Footnote 6) (Ibidem). During the years of socialism the friendship and cooperation between the two peoples has acquired a new content determined by the common features of the social and governmental system and the common goals of struggle to build socialism and to create a climate of peace and security both in Southeast Europe and in Europe as a whole.

The tradition of friendship and cooperation between the Romanian people and the peoples of Yugoslavia has been noted on many occasions by the party and state leaders of the two countries and peoples. In his address on the foreign policy of the Romanian party and government delivered at the session of the Grand National Assembly held on 24-27 July 1967, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu also analyzed the components of Romanian policy in Southeast Europe. On this occasion he stressed the historic dimensions of Romanian-Yugoslav relations, along with the motivation for these relations. "Living as good neighbors down through the centuries," stated Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in his address, "animated by the same aspirations for national and social freedom, and fighting for independence against common enemies, the Romanian people and the Yugoslav peoples have given each other fraternal assistance and have esteemed and respected each other." (Footnote 7) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul desavirsirii constructiei socialiste," Vol 2, pp 426-427). On another occasion, that of his visit to the Federated Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia in May 1968, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated that the Romanian people and the Yugoslav peoples, situated as they are in an area of Europe in turmoil, have been able to preserve and promote their national being "only through heroic resistance and prolonged struggle against oppressors for freedom, national independence, and social progress." (Footnote 8) (Nicolae Ceausescu, Op. Cit., Vol 3, 1969, p 246). "Our peoples have emerged from the cruelties of history and from their sufferings," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated on that occasion, "with an unquenched thirst for freedom and independence." (Footnote 9) (Ibidem). The victory of socialism in Romania and Yugoslavia has laid new foundations for and has imparted new and greater dimensions to Romanian-Yugoslav friendship, which has found a powerful wellspring in the new

system being built by the Romanian people and the Yugoslav peoples, as it has also in their common desire to work together and cooperate in many areas as good neighbors.

The historic dimensions of Romanian-Albanian relations, which have a long tradition in the history of the two peoples, have been emphasized on a number of occasions. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has often stated that extending cooperation between the Romanian people and the Albanian people "serves the interests of the building of socialism and of the material and cultural wellbeing of the two countries" (Footnote 10) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul desavirsirii constructiei socialiste," Vol 2, p 429).

As immediately contiguous countries having in their territories or as natural boundaries resources of great economic value and of particular strategic importance (such as the Danube River), the socialist countries in Southeast Europe, especially Romania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, have found many ways and means of cooperating from the economic viewpoint. These ways and means have been given concrete expression in joint preparation of preparation of projects for building economic objectives of vast scope. In harmony with mutual interests of an economic (as well as political) nature, the foundations have been laid for economic objectives of great magnitude, such as the hydraulic engineering complexes on the Danube, Iron Gates I (Footnote 11) ("Acord intre R. P. Romana si R. S. F. Iugoslavia privind realizarea si exploatarea Sistemului hidroenergetic si de navigatie 'Portile de Fier' pe fluviul Dunarea" [Agreement between the Romanian People's Republic and the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia on Development and Operation of the "Portile de Fier" Hydroelectric Power and National System on the Danube River], BULETINUL OFICIAL, Vol 13, No 7, Part 1, 8 June 1964) and subsequently Iron Gates II (Footnote 12) ("Acord intre R. S. Romania si guvernul R. S. F. Iugoslavia privind conditiile extinderii colaborarii pentru utilizarea potentialului hidroenergetic al Dunarii" [Agreement between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Government of the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia on Terms for Extending Collaboration for Utilization of the Hydroelectric Power Potential of the Danube], BULETINUL OFICIAL, Vol 13, No 56, Part 1, 30 June 1977) developed through Romanian-Yugoslav cooperation. Similarly, Romania and Bulgaria have reached agreement on the need for joint construction of major hydraulic engineering complexes such as those promoted in the Cioara-Belene area (footnote 13) ("Conventie intre guvernul R. S. Romania si guvernul R. P. Bulgaria privind elaborarea proiectelor pentru realizarea Complexului hidrotehnic Cioara-Belene pe fluviul Dunarea" [Convention between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on Preparation of Projects for Development of the Cioara-Belene Hydraulic Engineering Complex on the Danube River], BULETINUL OFICIAL, Vol 9, No 110, Part 1, 23 July 1973) and the Turnu-Magurele-Nicopol area (Footnote 14) (SCINTEIA, Vol 46, No 10, 557, 30 June 1976) to exploit the hydroelectric power potential of the Danube. Romania and Bulgaria have reached agreement on and have started joint construction in the Giurgiu-Ruse area of an enterprise for building machinery and heavy equipment (Footnote 15) ("Acord intre guvernul R. S. Romania si guvernul R. P. Bulgaria pentru infiintarea, constructia si exploatarea Intreprinderii comune pentru constructii de masini si utilaje grele Giurgiu-Ruse" [Agreement between the Government of the Socialist Republic of

Romania and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on Establishment, Construction, and Operation of the Giurgiu-Ruse Joint Enterprise for Machinery and Heavy Equipment Building], BULETINUL OFICIAL, Vol 13, No 59, Part 1, 6 July 1977).

Cooperation in the construction of installations of great importance to the economy of the socialist countries in Southeast Europe is above all of political importance. The building of these installations is a material expression of the standards and principles on the basis of which the Southeast European socialist countries reach agreement and cooperate. The political component of this cooperation has been stressed on many occasions by the party and state leaders of Romania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia. Rating the Iron Gates Hydroelectric Power Plant as the largest economic construction project accomplished through cooperation between two socialist countries, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania has stated that this achievement represents a model of the method by which cooperation between two countries and peoples can be carried out. (Footnote 16) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate" [Romania on the Path of Building a Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society], Vol 7, 1972, p 321). It is an expression of new relations based on respect for independence and national sovereignty, equality of rights, non-intervention in internal affairs, and mutual advantage. The same is true of the joint Romanian-Bulgarian cooperation projects, the Turnu-Magurele-Nikopol hydraulic engineering complex and the major integrated industrial installation represented by the Giurgiu-Ruse Machinery and Heavy Equipment Building Enterprise.

The building of these installations proves the lasting nature and, of course, the secure future of cooperative relations among the socialist countries in Southeast Europe, as has often been emphasized by high-level representatives of Romania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia. On the occasion of inauguration of construction work on the Giurgiu-Ruse Industrial Complex, the chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, in discussing the future of these relations, rated the Giurgiu-Ruse Complex as a fresh example of Romanian-Bulgarian friendship, which, as he said, "has emerged from history and will go on into the future of our children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren" (Footnote 17) ("Sub semnul prieteniei fratesti romano-bulgare," pp 229-236).

The inauguration of work on the Iron Gates II Hydroelectric Power Complex also provided another occasion for stressing the cooperative relations existing among the Southeast European socialist countries and, of course, between the two countries participating in the construction of this installation, Romania and Yugoslavia. At the dinner offered on 3 December 1977 by President Nicolae Ceausescu in honor of the president of Yugoslavia on the occasion of inauguration of the Iron Gates II Complex on, the president of Romania stated that relations between Romania and Yugoslavia had been placed "on a lasting foundation of friendship and cooperation" as a result of the meetings held throughout the years by the party and state leaders of the two countries (footnote 18) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate" Vol 15, 1978, p 2451). The president of Romania noted with particular satisfaction the development of cooperation

between the two countries, an eloquent example of which is the joint construction of the hydroelectric power installations on the Danube, the Iron Gates I and the Iron Gates II. Cooperative relations between Romania and Yugoslavia, according to the president of Romania, are an example of how two neighboring socialist countries can work together, motivated by the same interests, by a desire to build socialism, live as good neighbors, and contribute to the cause of peace. On the same occasion, the president of Yugoslavia pointed out that the future Iron Gates II Hydroelectric Plant will be yet another bridge joining the two countries and peoples, at the same time emphasizing that it is not an ordinary bridge but a link expressing the mutual trust of the Romanian and Yugoslav peoples. Noting again that completion of the first Iron Gates Hydroelectric Plant persuaded the two peoples even more strongly that they must give each other mutual support, the president of Yugoslavia stated that the effort to dam up the Danube is one example of how the two countries can pool their creative forces.

Romania has cultivated good cooperative relations, especially economic and commercial relations, in a spirit of historic tradition, with Albania, a Southeast European country which has chosen the socialist path of political and social development. At the political level, the two countries maintain diplomatic relations. This is a good precondition for normal conduct of bilateral relations. Exchanges of delegations or visits at the non-governmental level of public organizations or cultural institutions take place periodically in this context. On various occasions generated by important events in the political life of the two countries, there are exchanges of messages, letters, or telegrams between representatives of the two countries at different levels. The spirit of friendship, and especially of the historic tradition of relations between the Romanian and Albanian peoples, predominates in the relations between Romania and Albania, as has been noted on a number of occasions. In 1976, for example, the ambassador of the People's Republic of Romania to Bucharest discussed the antiquity of Romanian-Albanian relations at length, on the occasion of presentation of his credentials (Footnote 19) (SCINTEIA, Vol 46, No 10,608, 28 September 1970). He stated that there is friendship of long standing between the Romanian people and the Albanian people and that this friendship has been strengthened in the fight the two peoples have fought for freedom, national independence, and progress. The representative of the Albanian government in Bucharest expressed his conviction that this friendship will continue to develop in the future, to the benefit of both peoples (Footnote 20) (Ibidem).

In keeping with the provisions of long-term agreements on economic, technical, and scientific cooperation, cooperative relations between Romania and the socialist countries of Southeast Europe have intensified in the fields of literature, art, and tourism as well as at the economic, commercial, or technical level, as they have also in the spheres of international highway transportation, air transportation, postal services, and legal and consular assistance (Footnote 21) (For further details, see "Annex I. Bilateral Instruments (Treaties, Joint Declarations, Agreements, Conventions, Protocols) Executed between Romania and the Balkan Countries over the 1945-1975 Period," in "Balcanii--Zona a Pacii" [The Balkans, an Area of Peace], pp 259-264, 266-270).

Faithful to one of the fundamental principles of its foreign policy, development of good-neighbor relations of understanding and cooperation with all countries, irrespective of their social system, Romania has devoted particular attention to its relations with the other two countries in Southeast Europe, Greece and Turkey. Romania's policy toward these countries is based on the fundamental guidelines established by the 9th Congress of the PCR and further elaborated in other party and state documents. As was stated by the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in an interview granted to the DAILY NEWS of Ankara, "we proceed from the fact that differences of an historical and national nature, and especially differences in social system, generally should not be an obstacle to active cooperation among all the countries of the world, and especially these differences, which do in fact exist, should not be an obstacle to cooperation among the Balkan countries" (Footnote 22) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate" Vol 12, 1976, pp 179-180). In accordance with this guideline, Romania has taken action to develop its relations with Greece and Turkey.

Romania resumed its relations with Greece in 1956, settling disputes and law suits and establishing normal relations far earlier than other countries in the region (Footnote 23) (Elisabeta Petreanu, "Romania and Interbalkan Relations during the Postwar Period," REVISTA DE ISTORIE, Vol 31, 1978, No 4, pp 570-571). It has had no legal disputes with Turkey since the war (Footnote 24) (Ibidem, p. 570). Romania's relations with Greece and Turkey nevertheless have undergone real development only since the 9th Congress of the PCR. The guidelines provided by the 9th Congress of the PCR have been especially important, as have also the thought and action of President Nicolae Ceausescu. To these factors there has been added the new climate that has arisen in international life in Europe, and especially in Southeast Europe, as a result of the efforts of the majority of European countries to eradicate the aftermath of the Second World War, to solve the problems resulting from the settlements of the Second World War, to impart a new course on international life in the direction of detente, and to reach one of the goals of postwar international political life, that is, gathering representatives of all European countries, regardless of the political system and irrespective of the political or military groupings into which they have been integrated, to attend a general European conference. The relations among some countries in Southeast Europe have improved as a result of these political and diplomatic initiatives, and this has brought about a change in the political climate of the region.

Adhering faithfully to its active policy in the direction of establishing relations of understanding and cooperation, Romania has by its initiatives made a contribution to advancement of the process of detente initiated in bilateral relations in Southeast Europe. In July 1986, a Romanian governmental delegation headed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Ion Gheorghe Maurer, visited Turkey (Footnote 25) ("Pentru securitate si cooperare internationala" [For Security and International Cooperation], Editura politica, Bucharest, 1972, pp 335-354). At the dinner given for the Romanian guests, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Turkey stated that the presence of the Romanian governmental delegation in Turkey meant that "positive development" had taken

place in the relations between the two countries (Footnote 26) (Ibidem, Vol 2, p 339). At the same time, the Turkish government expressed its desire to maintain and develop the best possible relations with Romania. The chairman of the Turkish Council of Ministers stated that his government was convinced that in pursuing such a goal it not only was acting in accordance with the interests of the two countries but was also making its contribution to the peace and stability of the Southeast European region. On the other hand, the premier of the Ankara government stated that useful cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of trade, economy, tourism, and transportation augurs well for the future of the relations between the two countries. At the first postwar meeting at the government level between Romania and Turkey, it was stressed that there are no disputes between the two countries and, although representatives of the two governments do not always share the same viewpoints on world problems, this should not be an obstacle to the development of their bilateral relations. The joint communique which was issued expressed the desire of the governments of Romania and Turkey to develop good-neighbor relations, on the basis of the principles of sovereignty and national independence, territorial integrity, equality of rights, and non-intervention in internal affairs (Footnote 27) (Ibidem).

Athens received a visit by a Romanian governmental delegation from 31 August to 3 September 1966, for the first time since the Second World War. The meeting of the representatives of the two countries and peoples was an occasion for recalling the "great past of Greco-Romanian relations" (Footnote 28) (Ibidem, Vol 1, p 704). At the dinner held in honor of the Romanian delegation, the Greek premier stated that it was not just a question of there being no problem in continuing the traditional friendly relations between the two countries. As the Greek premier pointed out, Greece, which has suffered too much not to have learned what war of any kind means, declares itself to be in favor of peace and justice, international detente, and mutual understanding and cooperation among all peoples (Footnote 29) (Ibidem). While noting that Greece intended to remain faithful to its alliances with the countries of the North Atlantic Pact, the Greek premier stressed that his country was ready to develop economic, commercial, scientific, and cultural relations with all countries, whatever their social or political system might be, subject to respect for independence, equality and mutual advantage, and non-intervention in domestic affairs. It was stated that Greece and Romania were capable of cooperating in many areas, in the cultural as well as the material sphere; cooperation between the two countries could make a contribution to strengthening of peace in this area of the world. The communique issued expressed the determination of the two countries, which, longing for a lasting peace in this region and throughout the world, were resolved to continue their efforts to develop cooperative relations among all Southeast European countries.

The negotiations conducted in Ankara and Athens in the summer and autumn of 1966 led to the conclusion of many agreements, conventions, and protocols (Footnote 30) (For further details see Annex 1 in "Balcanii--zona a pacii," pp 264-266, 271-272), which, as was noted by Ion Gheorghe Maurer, "inaugurated a new stage" (Footnote 31) (SCINTEIA, Vol 36, No 7,145, 28 October 1966) in bilateral relations with these countries, placing them on a stable basis and imparting a new perspective to them.

The relations between Romania and these countries experienced a new development in the years that followed. Meetings at the chief of state level channeled Romania's bilateral relations with Greece and Turkey into new directions of development which proved to be beneficial both to evolution of the bilateral relations and to creation of a political climate favoring multilateral cooperation. The occasion of the first meeting at the chief of state level was the visit by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu to Ankara in the spring of 1969. At the dinner offered in his honor, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated that favorable conditions existed for finding the necessary ways and means of extending cooperation between the two countries in several areas. The fact was emphasized that relations between Romania and Turkey, not being overshadowed by disputes of any kind, had in recent years followed a healthy course and had been marked by an upturn (Footnote 32) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate," Vol 4, 1970, p 26). This positive evolution of relations between Romania and Turkey was, of course, in harmony with the interests of the two countries and peoples. However, the new stage of Romanian-Turkish relations was of international importance, because, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, one of the cardinal means of creating a healthy political climate in a region such as Southeast Europe was development of normal relations between countries irrespective of their social and political system. "History," said Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, "teaches us to lead a peaceful life. We as persons in politics have the duty and responsibility toward our peoples to fight for making the history of today and that of tomorrow a history of friendship and cooperation between our peoples" (Footnote 33) ("Pentru securitate si cooperare internationale," Vol 2, pp 391-392). Romania's highest level representative emphasized that reason and not the force of aggression must prevail in the life of the contemporary world. The first high level meeting between Romania and Turkey held in Ankara in spring of 1969 and those held in Bucharest and Ankara in the years that followed, on the occasion of visits by the heads of state of Turkey and Romania, proved that cooperation and trust rather than reticence and suspicion were possible in Southeast Europe, and that it was possible to create a new political climate in harmony with the most cherished interests of the peoples in the region.

There was also an upturn in bilateral relations at the government level with Greece. The first high-level meeting between Romania and Greece since the Second World War was held in Bucharest on 16 May 1975. The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Greek Republic, who was in Bucharest on this occasion, noted that the Romanian and Greek peoples had maintained friendly and cooperative relations for a thousand years. The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, stressed that the two peoples had always worked together peacefully, had lived as good neighbors, and had assisted each other at difficult moments in history (Footnote 34) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate," Vol 11, 1975, p 680; see also ROMANIA LIBERA, Vol 33, No 9513, 27 May 1975).

The Greek premier's visit to Bucharest took place during the favorable pre-Helsinki period, during which bilateral political relations between the

countries in Southeast Europe were marked by intensification of contacts between political figures bearing the greatest responsibilities in government and by the joint effort of the countries in the region to broaden the sphere of their bilateral and multilateral cooperation. The high-level meeting held in spring of 1976 was a new element in the progress of Romanian-Greek relations during the period following the 9th PCR Congress. In March, Athens was visited by President Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu. At the luncheon held for the Romanian guests by the prime minister of the Greek republic, the president of Romania noted the uptrend in Romanian-Greek relations, stating that cooperation between the two countries had assumed new dimensions following premier Karamanlis' visit to Bucharest. At the discussions in Athens the conclusion was reached that many possibilities existed which created lasting prospects for developing cooperation between the two countries and peoples. Emphasis was placed on the need for action by the two governments in the direction of improving the political climate and developing multilateral cooperation in Southeast Europe. The bilateral documents signed at Athens in March 1976 in the sphere of economic, commercial, industrial, and technical-scientific cooperation (Footnote 35 (BULETINUL OFICIAL, Volume 12, Part 1, No 68, 12 July 1976) placed bilateral relations between Romania and Greece on a stable basis. At the ceremony of signing the official documents, the president of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, noted the joint desire of the representatives of the two countries and peoples to do every thing possible to extend this cooperation, stating that the negotiations and discussions at Athens evidenced the good beginning made for extending cooperation in Southeast Europe, inasmuch as the two countries were resolved to take action in this direction in the future.

During the years that followed, Romanian-Greek bilateral relations continued to develop, as was noted on the occasion of exchanges of views between representatives of the two countries and peoples. The favorable development of relations between the two countries were stressed in September 1986, on the occasion of a visit to Bucharest by the prime minister of the Republic of Greece, Andreas Papandreou, in discussions with President Nicolae Ceausescu, and decisions were made with the aim of imparting a new perspective to these relations. The agreement in principle on signing of a treat of friendship and cooperation (Footnote 36) (ROMANIA LIBERA, Vol 44, No 13,0138, 12 September 1986) reached on the occasion of the Greek premier's visit to Bucharest indicated, firstly, the stage of the relations between the two countries, and, secondly, the decision to impart a new content to these relations and to diversify and extend them. It was agreed on this occasion to try to ensure a steady pace of trade and mutually advantageous cooperation in the economic area, in sectors of importance to the progress of the two countries. The desire was also expressed to extend cooperation between Romania and Greece in various other areas, such as science, culture, art, tourism, etc, etc.

The high-level exchanges of views at Bucharest, Ankara, and Athens have represented important factors in the evolution of relations between Romania and the Southeast European countries, in the effort to build lasting relations of friendship and cooperation, in the spirit of traditions of long standing and the mutual interests of the peoples of these countries. They also represented factors with profound political implications and significant consequences for the prospect of multilateral cooperation in the Southeast

European area.

While taking action to develop its relations in many areas with all the countries in Southeast Europe, Romania has at the same time tried to develop its relations with all the other countries in the region, especially since there were disputes among these countries dating either from the Second World War or from the immediate postwar period. As had been demonstrated on so many occasions, the existence of these disputes impeded the development of normal relations between countries, including the general political climate in Southeast Europe. In the opinion of Romania, any political and diplomatic initiative in the direction of eliminating the aftermath of the Second World War (or differences arising for other reasons) was welcome. Hence Romania held in high regard the efforts by the governments of Bulgaria and Greece (Footnote 37) (Panayotis Dertilis, *Economic and Financial Questions between Greece and Bulgaria and the Recent Athens Accords*, "Actes du premier Congres International des etudes balkaniques et sud-est europeennes" [Proceedings of the First International Congress of Balkan and Southeast European Studies], Vol 5, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, 1970, pp 513-515) and of Bulgaria and Turkey (Footnote 38) (Blagoy Vasiliev, *The Economic and Cultural Relations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria with Greece and Turkey over the 1961-1965 Period*, "Actes du premier Congres International des etudes balkaniques," Vol 5, p 512; see also Georgeta Grigorova, *The Balkan Policy of Socialist Bulgaria*, ETUDES BALKANIKUES, No 2-3, Sofia, 1974, pp 13-14) to normalize the relations between the countries, and regarded the re-establishment of relations between Greece and Albania (Footnote 39) (LUMEA, No 25, 1970, p 13), plus the political and diplomatic initiatives to improve relations between Yugoslavia and Albania on one hand and between Greece and Albania (Footnote 40) (Voin Bozinov, *Peaceful Coexistence in the Balkans and the policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria*, "Actes du premier Congres International des etudes balkaniques," Vol 5, p 540) on the other as concrete steps in the direction of development of relations among all the countries in Southeast Europe. In 1971, the president of Romania stated with reference to the political processes in the area that the situation in Southeast Europe was moving in a favorable direction. In an interview granted to the Italian newspaper CORRIERE DELLA SERA in the autumn of 1971, President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the "increasingly strong" desire of all Southeast European countries to arrive at "normalization of relations among them, irrespective of all the differences in sociopolitical system" (Footnote 41) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate," Vol 7, 1974, p 577). The president of Romania stated that the normalization of relations between Greece and Albania, the improvement of relations between Bulgaria and Greece, and the development of relations between Yugoslavia and Greece were expressions of the effort of all the Southeast European countries to create a new political climate favoring the development of bilateral and multilateral relations in the area. "Consequently, said the president of Romania, "if we take all these factors into account we may say that concrete steps have been taken in recent years in the direction of improving relations among all the Balkan countries, something which creates conditions favoring approach to a Balkan agreement and the achievement of such an agreement" (Footnote 42) (Ibidem). The president of Romania stressed that the major powers should have taken into account the efforts of the peoples in this area toward a better climate so as to create

conditions such that the Southeast European countries could deal with their own problems themselves. In the concept of the president of Romania, the countries in this area should be allowed to "resolve problems themselves, without intervention from outside, in a spirit of multilateral cooperation excluding "force and the threat of force in solving any problems among them" (Footnote 43) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate," Vol 7, p 577). At the same time, cooperation among the countries of Southeast Europe should lead not to isolation but rather to wide development of cooperation between them and other countries in the world.

In harmony with this concept and in keeping with the new political context in Southeast Europe, Romania reiterated its proposals for the creation in Southeast Europe of a zone of peace and cooperation multilateral as well as bilateral. The idea of creating multilateral cooperative organizations was repeated, was repeated in the summer of 1972 and then in the spring of 1973, couched in a more detailed formulation in keeping with the specific conditions of the region and the new political climate more propitious to multilateral cooperation. Of course, non-governmental bodies already existed for cooperation among the countries in the area in a wide variety of fields (science, medicine, history, athletics, tourism, etc) (Footnote 44) (For further details see "Colaborarea balcanica. Domenii, forme, organisme" [Balkan Cooperation--Spheres, Forms, Organizations], Editura politica, Bucharest, 1983, pp 74-92). It was Romania's belief that they provided an example of how action could be taken in the area of economic cooperation as well, and eventually in that of a meeting devoted to discussion of the problems of cooperation in all spheres, including transformation of the region into a peaceful zone without nuclear weapons. The president of Romania advanced the idea that meetings could be organized which initially need not be at the level of heads of state or government but at different levels at which preparations would be made for a high-level meeting. Under the conditions created by the favorable evolution of relations in Southeast Europe, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania felt that the time had come for moving from general declarations to specific action, and proposed the establishment of a body which would contribute toward promotion of trade and organization of cooperation in production (Footnote 45) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate," Vol 8, 1973, p 658). In the context of Southeast European relations at the beginning of the 4th postwar decade, Romania felt that it would be useful to start making preparations for a meeting of representatives of the countries in the area at which discussion would be devoted to the problem of transforming Southeast Europe into an area without nuclear weapons and military bases. In the opinion of Romania, the meeting could deal either with working out an understanding or elaborating, by consensus, declarations or accords on the foundations of economic, political, and cultural plus scientific cooperation in Southeast Europe. Romania made this proposal approximately 3 years in advance of the first postwar government-level meeting in Southeast Europe, held at Athens in the winter of 1976. In view of the complexity of a meeting at the level of head of government or state, Romania realized the need for preparatory operations to make the work of the future meeting easier and to make it easier to arrive at specific results. This new position, in comparison to the one adopted by Romania in 1957 (Footnote 46) (Elisabeta

Petreanu, "Certain Considerations Relating to the Romanian Proposal of 1957 Concerning the Political Climate in Southeast Europe after the Second World War," *REVISTA DE ISTORIE*, Vol 39, No 5, 1986, pp 487-488) and 1959, when Romania made its proposals regarding improvement in the political climate in Southeast Europe (Footnote 47) (Elisabeta Petreanu, "Romania and Interbalkan Relations during the Postwar Period," *REVUE DES ETUDES SUD-EST EUROPEENNES*, Vol 15, No 4, 1977, pp 653-657), for one thing demonstrated the flexibility of Romanian policy toward the complex problems of Southeast Europe, and for another showed the realistic nature of the Romanian concept of suitable ways and means of establishing a climate of peace and cooperation in the area and of developing multilateral, not just bilateral, relations of friendship and cooperation. As will be seen later on, dealing with the political processes in Southeast Europe from a new perspective allowing for all the points of agreement or disagreement that have existed between the Southeast European countries was a more efficient way (if not the only one) of developing more fruitful multilateral cooperation as well.

A high-level meeting of representatives of all European countries, the United States, and Canada was held in Helsinki in the summer of 1975. This was a meeting of great political significance in the history of postwar Europe. The Helsinki Conference, the first postwar conference to bring the countries of Europe together at the negotiating table, regardless of their political system and irrespective of the political or military alliances to which they belonged, discussed not the terms of peace for ending a war but the conditions necessary for strengthening the foundations of peace, in order that a "dynamic state of peace" (Footnote 48) ("Conferinta pentru securitate si cooperare in Europa" [The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe], Editura politica, Bucharest, 1975, p 38) might be promoted. In their speeches at Helsinki, the representatives of the Southeast European countries also dealt with the problems of peace and cooperation in the region, pointing out the need for specific actions to accomplish multilateral cooperation, so that Southeast Europe might be a zone of understanding and good neighbors. On the tribune at the conference, President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the consistency of Romania's policy in Southeast Europe for the sake of transforming this region into a zone of cooperation and peace (Footnote 49) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilaterale dezvoltate," Vol 11, 1975, p 1,043).

The representatives of the Southeast European countries held bilateral meetings during the conference (Footnote 50) ("Sub semnul prietenii fratesti romano-iugoslave," 1977, pp 126-127; see also "Sub semnul prietenii fratesti Romano-Bulgare," 1977, p 26). At these meetings, they reached agreement that a meeting at the multilateral level was needed along with the development of bilateral relations to develop multilateral cooperation in the region (Footnote 51) (*LUMEA*, No 20, 1977, p 26). In this context, at the end of September 1975 the Greek premier, Constantin Karamanlis, sent to all Southeast European countries an invitation to participate in a conference to discuss one of the most important problems of bilateral and multilateral cooperation, that of economic cooperation (Footnote 52) (For further details, see the message sent by Premier Constantin Karamanlis to President Nicolae Ceausescu, *SCINTEIA*, Vol 45, No 10,301, 3 October 1975). Regarding the Greek premier's initiative as an example of practical application of the principles and goals

agreed on at Helsinki, the president of Romania welcomed the initiative by Premier Constantin Karamanlis, stating that Romania was resolved to take part in such a meeting, on the date and in the place to be established by general agreement of the participating countries, and to exert all possible effort for its smooth conduct and success. In his message to the Greek leader, the president of Romania stated that the initiative taken by the prime minister of the Athens government was, happily, consonant with the common efforts of the Southeast European countries to promote broad and fruitful cooperation in this part of the continent of Europe. "As you know," stated the president of Romania in his reply, "the Socialist Republic of Romania acts consistently to improve and develop the climate of understanding, friendship, and good-neighbor relations in the Balkans, being convinced that this is in accordance with the fundamental interests and the aspirations of all the peoples in the region and contributes to the cause of peace and security in Europe and the world" (Footnote 53) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate," Vol 12, 1976, pp 5-6).

The meeting, which was attended by deputy economic planning ministers of the Southeast European countries, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Republic of Greece, the Federated Socialist Republic of Romania, the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the Republic of Turkey, was held in Athens from 26 January to 5 February 1976. This was the first postwar multilateral meeting at the governmental level, and was recorded in the annals of postwar Southeast European relations as the Conference on Economic and Technical Cooperation. The conference undertook to identify new possibilities and forms of multilateral economic and technical cooperation in areas of common interest to all the participating countries (Footnote 54) ("Colaborarea balcanica," pp 46-48). The representatives of Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania, and Turkey discussed, in a working context, important aspects of multilateral economic cooperation among the countries concerned, including basic sectors such as energy, transportation, telecommunications, chemistry, tourism, water resources policy, environmental protection, and public health (Footnote 55) (LUMEA, No 6, 1976, p 4). In the opinion of the Greek representative, these were areas that lent themselves to multilateral discussions and offered possibilities of satisfactory solution for all the countries in Southeast Europe. The forms of cooperation outlined on the occasion of the Athens meeting, together with future projects (approximately 150 proposals were advanced), gave material expression to the prospects for multilateral cooperation among the countries in the region. After analysis of the "inventory" of ideas and proposals advanced at the Athens meeting, it was found that the governments of the Southeast European countries were in the unprecedented position of having devised by common effort a mirror of potential cooperation of mutual interest (Footnote 56) ("Colaborarea balcanica," p 47).

The Athens conference was the first attempt to apply on a regional scale the resolutions passed at the general European conference in Helsinki. Conducted in accordance with the principles adopted at the Helsinki Conference, the Athens meeting was a meeting of Southeast European countries in the interests of the Southeast European countries and peoples. It was one step, in the spirit of the Helsinki Conference, toward surmounting a number of problems

which existed in the area, in harmony with the interests of the peoples in this part of the world. The Athens meeting was the first event that brought together representatives of the majority of the Southeast European countries (Footnote *) (The People's Republic of Albania did not participate in this conference [nor did it participate in the Helsinki conference]). It also failed to participate in the other multilateral meetings at the expert level of the Southeast European countries held in subsequent years in the capitals of the Southeast European countries) and, as was written in the newspaper AVYI, was not aimed against the interests of any country in this region and was not inspired by the goals of any bloc. The 1976 conference on economic and technical cooperation in Athens was a meeting of Southeast European countries in the interest of Southeast European peoples. It was followed by other multilateral meetings at the expert level, in Ankara (27-30 November 1979), Sofia (15-19 June 1981), and Bucharest (7-12 June 1982). They were devoted to discussion of problems of multilateral cooperation in spheres of common interest and of a regional nature (transportation, telecommunications, energy, raw materials, power engineering, etc, etc). The documents of the multilateral meetings of the Southeast European countries during the post-Helsinki period were adopted by consensus; many proposals and recommendations were made which illustrated the interests of the countries in the area in cultivation of dialogue and development of cooperation on an equitable basis, for mutual interest and advantage. The active participation by Romania in these meetings was a material expression of Romania's consistent policy toward development of bilateral and multilateral relations in Southeast Europe and transformation of this region into a zone of peace, cooperation, and good-neighbor relations.

Along with participation by government representatives in multilateral meetings of the Southeast European countries at the expert level, President Nicolae Ceausescu continued to devote constant attention to one of the fundamental problems of postwar Southeast European reality, transformation of the region into a zone of peace and security, one with no nuclear weapons or weapons of another nature. At the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party held in 1982, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed Romania's consistent position on this problem and presented the Romanian concept of peace and cooperation in the region. "Let us transform the Balkans into a region of peaceful cooperation," stated the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, "and develop cooperation in the direction of the economic and social development of each country and improvement in the welfare of each people" (Footnote 57) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilaterale dezvoltate," Vol 25, 1983, p. 65). In the opinion of Romania, the good results obtained at the multilateral meetings at the expert level and the existence of problems of a bilateral nature which impeded political and economic relations between some Southeast European countries were facts arguing for the usefulness of a meeting of the heads of government in the region. Consequently, the president of Romania called for immediate commencement of preparations for a high-level conference of the Southeast European countries devoted to the primary objectives of the region (surmounting of existing problems, development of trust and good-neighbor relations, multilateral cooperation, and transformation of the region into a peaceful, nuclear-free zone. Many heads of state in Southeast Europe accepted the proposal by President Nicolae Ceausescu and expressed their positions

regarding the advisability of such a meeting in principle. In May 1983, the Greek prime minister, Andreas Papandreou, issued to the heads of government in the region to participate in a meeting, initially at the expert level, to consider (among other things) Romania's proposal regarding the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Europe. On 18 May 1983, a special envoy of the prime minister of the Republic of Greece delivered to President Nicolae Ceausescu a message in which Andreas Papandreou proposed that a meeting of the Southeast European countries on denuclearization of the region (Footnote 58) (SCINTEIA, Vol 52, No 12,670, 19 May 1983) be held in Athens in the very near future. Inasmuch as a proposal had come from the government of Greece (this indirectly expressing Greece's agreement to elimination of nuclear weapons from Southeast Europe), Romania believed that such a meeting, even at the expert level, would be a positive event in the political life of Southeast Europe (and not just of this region), and would also represent an important initiative in the process of preparing for a high-level meeting of the countries in the area. In his reply to Premier Papandreou dispatched through the latter's envoy in Bucharest, President Nicolae Ceausescu stated that Romania supported this initiative and wished to participate in it firmly resolved to make a contribution to the success of the meeting (Footnote 59) (Ibidem).

The meeting proposed by the Greek premier was held in Athens, the first stage from 16 to 18 January and the second stage from 13 to 18 February 1984. It was attended by ambassadorial-level delegations from the Southeast European countries (except Albania). It was the first multilateral meeting of a political nature organized in Southeast Europe during the postwar period. The meeting evaluated the results obtained as a result of previous meetings (held in 1976, 1979, 1981, and 1982) devoted to problems of economy, transportation, science, communications, energy, and power engineering raw materials. At the same time, proposals were made which went beyond the framework of the previous conferences, inasmuch as they related to political aspects of relations among Southeast European countries. The representatives of the participating countries suggested ways and means of continuing the dialogue on a multilateral basis, together with procedures in the direction of transforming the region into a zone free of nuclear weapons, including determination of measures necessary for protecting the region from the consequences of use of nuclear weapons in other areas of the world (Footnote 60) (SCINTEIA, Vol 53, No 12,899, 12 February 1984; see also "Joint Communiqué of the Conference," SCINTEIA, Vol 53, No 12,905, 20 February 1984). Romania and President Nicolae Ceausescu attached high value to the results of the Athens Conference, regarding the multilateral dialogue that had begun as a stage in preparation of a high-level meeting in which all the countries of Southeast Europe would participate (Footnote 61) (Nicolae Ecobescu and Ioan Pascu, "Zone denuclearizate" [Nuclear-Free Zones], Editura politica, Bucharest, 1985, pp 89-94).

In 1985, the attention of political and decision making authorities in the Southeast European countries centered around a new proposal aimed at transformation of the region into an area free of chemical as well as nuclear weapons. On 22 December 1985, Romania and Bulgaria proposed to the other Southeast European countries that an agreement be reached through bilateral and multilateral negotiations, the stipulations of which would secure the region from the danger of mass destruction weapons. In a document signed in

Bucharest by the president of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and the chairman of the Council of State of Bulgaria, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the two countries made a solemn appeal to the heads of state and government of the Southeast European countries to unite the efforts of all the countries in the region to create a zone free of chemical weapons in Southeast Europe. In the declaration-appeal (Footnote 62) (SCINTEIA, Vol 55, No 13,479, 24 December 1985) made at Bucharest, Romania and Bulgaria proposed the immediate initiation of negotiations devoted to fashioning an agreement among the Southeast European countries to prohibit the testing, production, or stockpiling of any chemical weapons on their soil. The joint Romanian-Bulgarian document noted that the study, testing, and production of chemical weapons had assumed dangerous proportions in recent years. Such weapons are means of mass destruction acting on every living being. Denunciation of the danger represented by chemical weapons was especially necessary because, in some Western militarist circles the "advantages" of chemical weapons, and not just the financial "advantages" were being more and more often emphasized, it being pointed out that chemical weapons, unlike nuclear ones, do not destroy material goods, only life. Creation of a zone free of chemical weapons in this part of the European continent, stated the joint Romanian-Bulgarian document, would be an important step toward freeing all Europe from an especially dangerous type of weapon and would contribute toward strengthening trust and cooperation among the peoples in this region. Putting this appeal into effect could make a tangible contribution to the efforts being made for total and general prohibition of existing attacks and to stimulating the negotiations in progress in this direction. Declaring themselves to be resolutely against testing, production, or stockpiling of chemical weapons on the soil of the Southeast European countries, Romania and Bulgaria expressed their belief that the signing of an effective international convention subject to verification would contribute to total prohibition of weapons of this kind. They stated at the same time that they were prepared to take part in the drawing up of such an international instrument. The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria expressed their conviction that the appeal made at Bucharest would find a positive response among the heads of state and government in Southeast Europe and that their responsibility for the lives of their own peoples and for peace and security in this region and in Europe as a whole would transcend the differences in political system or of another nature existing among the countries in the region.

The new initiative launched by Romania, and on this occasion by Bulgaria as well, again confronted the countries of Southeast Europe with one of the essential problems of the region, that of pooling the efforts of all the countries in the region to establish peace and security in this part of the continent of Europe. Being a logical result of the efforts exerted during the postwar period, the initiative of Romania and Bulgaria, made during a critical period in international life, once again pointed up the need (and urgency) for measures designed to ensure peace and security in Southeast Europe, thereby opening up new avenues toward dialogue and toward understanding and cooperation among all the countries in the region. Romania participated in the formulation of this new initiative convinced that, in the face of the urgent need for peace, membership of the countries in the region in different social and political systems and in different military alliances should not be

an obstacle to improvement in the political climate in Southeast Europe, to development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation among all the Southeast European countries in the interest of the peoples in this part of the continent and establishment of peace and understanding in Europe, and in other parts of the world as well. The problems of peace and cooperation in Southeast Europe were approached from a more complex perspective in the high-level talks held in Bucharest on 10 and 11 September 1986 on the occasion of the visit to Romania by Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu. In these Romanian-Greek talks in Bucharest, particular attention was devoted to the current international political situation, securing of peace and cooperation in Southeast Europe, and, considering the intensity of the arms race and the trend toward extension of this race into outer space, the problems of disarmament. As a result of these exchanges of views on this topic, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu signed a declaration on the problems of disarmament, peace, and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world (Footnote 63) ("Declaration by the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the Prime Minister of the Republic of Greece, Andreas Papandreu, on the Problems of Disarmament, Peace, and Cooperation in Europe and Throughout the World," ROMANIA YPERIA, Vol. 44, No. 13,018, 12 September 1986). A political document of great significance, the Romanian-Greek declaration on the problems of disarmament and peace represented an expression of the position of Romania and Greece on the complex problems existing in the world and on the risk of continuing the nuclear arms race and extending it into outer space. "Romania and Greece," states the document signed at Bucharest, "declare themselves to be firmly opposed to any measures of militarization of space and for the use of outer space by all nations exclusively for peaceful purposes" (Footnote 64) (Ibidem).

The president of Romania and the Greek premier examined the aspects of Balkan cooperation and reaffirmed their interest in the problems of developing good-neighbor relations of peaceful cooperation among all Southeast European countries. They expressed their appreciation for the experience gained in multilateral cooperation and stressed the need for intensification of efforts by the Southeast European countries to continue dialogue and cooperation in the political, economic, and technical-scientific sectors and in other areas of mutual interest. In the talks held in Bucharest, and through the declaration signed by the leaders of the two countries, Romania and Greece called upon the countries in Southeast Europe to continue to act to create in this part of the continent of Europe a zone of peace and good-neighbor relations, understanding, and cooperation, without nuclear and chemical weapons, and also to continue contacts at a level to be agreed upon to examine specific aspects of work toward these goals. It was stated that the holding of a high-level meeting of the Southeast European countries in this context would be of particular importance to the political climate in the region and to evolution of international life in the direction of peace and peaceful cooperation.

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CSO: 2700/130

BANAT 'PREDOMINANTLY ROMANIAN' DURING SEVERAL HISTORICAL PERIODS

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian No 2, Feb 87, pp 10-11, 42

[Article by Dr. Nicolae Corneanu: "Long and Uninterrupted Romanian Presence"]

[Text] Each nation has its own history, better or less well known, but in any case possible to be traced, especially today, given our perfected means of investigation. Researchers have been making considerable progress and have brought to light most of the secrets of the past. As for our people, their history currently enjoys the fruits of the work of an entire generation of experts who, even if they have not completely lifted the veil from all past events, have elucidated the important periods and the stages of development of the Romanians in the geographical area belonging to them.

However, despite the obvious truths brought to light by historical documents and archeological explorations, latter-day apologists of long since obsolete theories continue to circulate assertions and hypotheses that totally contradict the reality. Thus, it is claimed that the Romanians first appeared in the area that is their homeland in the 12th and 13th centuries, when they allegedly came from south of the Danube and infiltrated a territory already occupied by other populations. Such statements target our country in general, but Transylvania and the Banat in particular.

With regard to the Banat, some go as far as to claim that during the Ottoman rule (1552-1716) the local population--which, as the respective "researchers" claim, was Magyar--withdrew to the north, making room for the Romanians, who only arrived here in the 16th-18th centuries! We hasten to point out that anyone looking through the well-known document entitled Gesta Hungarorum, written by an anonymous "scribe" of King Bela III, dating back to the end of the 12th century, can find out that, in the first years of the 10th century, the Hungarians found in the Banat a "duchy" governed by the Wallachian "duke" Glad who, together with his Romanian troops, offered them a fierce opposition. Similarly, reading the even earlier, well-known hagiographic work "The Legend of St. Gerard," composed at the beginning of the 12th century, one perceives the deeply rooted Romanian presence under the Voivod Ahtum, a descendant of Glad, and the fierce resistance mounted by the local population against the Hungarian invasion.

Aside from these chronicles, there are also many official, chancery documents that highlight the truth that the Romanians were the native population, while the Hungarians came and settled in the Banat later, followed, much later, by the Serbians, Swabians, etc. One of these documents is the Registry of Papal Taxes of 1333-37, which lists all the parishes and priests of the Roman-Catholic dioceses of Banat, Transylvania, and Crisana which paid taxes to the Catholic Church (Documents Concerning Romania's History, C. Transylvania, 14th century, vol. III, pp 221-248, document No 56). Another, recently found document is the Aims Register of the Ipek Patriarchate (Ipek, or Peci, is a locality in Serbia) of 1660-66, which records the results of an undertaking by delegates of Patriarch Maxim, who traveled through more than 160 villages in the pashalik of Timisoara to collect gifts for charity and blessing. (I.D. Suciu and Radu Constantinescu, Documents Concerning the History of the Banat Metropolitan Seat, vol. I, Timisoara, 1980, pp 108-149). In different but complementary ways, both documents clearly show that the Romanian population was always in the majority in the Banat. The first--the Registry of Papal Taxes--records the tithes paid during 1333-37 by the Romanian-Catholic population. By analyzing it we can calculate the number of localities (and thus, of Roman-Catholic inhabitants, since they were almost exclusively Magyars).

What information does the respective document yield? At the date of that registry, the Banat was incorporated in the Cenad diocese, whose jurisdiction spanned, aside from Cenad County, the counties of Arad and Csongrad, too. In its turn, the diocese included seven archdeaconries which paralleled the present districts, as follows: Cenad, Arad, Caras, Torontal, Mures, Caransebes, and Timis. The Timis Archdeaconry was divided into two deaneries: the deanery between the two Timis rivers, and the deanery between the Timis and Birzava. By finding out how many Roman-Catholic priests the Banat Archdeaconries had, we can figure out the size of the Roman-Catholic Magyar population living in the Banat at the time.

In 1333 the Caransebes Archdeaconry (given as Sebes in the document) is cited as having six priests, in 1334 eight priests, and in 1335 seven priests. These priests served in 1333 at the parishes of Caransebes, Lugoj, Carasova, Zerep (no longer existing), Toti (no longer existing), and Duboz. What kind of "parishes" there were is made clear in the accounts of the following year, when two parishes are no longer mentioned in the same "archdeaconry:" Lugoj and Duboz; on the other hand, new localities are mentioned: Chery (probably Ciresa), Hucso, Tavin, and Illuc (no longer existing). Thus, only two Roman-Catholic parishes with Magyar faithful, Caransebes and Carasova, appear to have been staple in an archdeaconry stretching from the Danube to Izvin (near Timisoara).

A similar situation was found to prevail in the Caras archdeaconry. Of a total of eleven priests serving the Roman-Catholic Magyars, three served in actual parishes (Illuth, Maris, and Somlav), while eight were attached to the feudal courts of Semlaci Mare, Singeorgiu, Gherman, and Denta, and in the currently extinct localities of Wodad, Mansfalva, Paraz, and Bay.

In the Cenad Archdeaconry, where the Roman-Catholic bishop had his seat, the document lists only 10 priests, all attached exclusively to feudal courts.

The situation in the Timis Archdeaconry was even more illustrative. In 1333 we find here 26 priests, all serving at feudal courts. The Timisoara Castle, which until 1323 had been the seat of King Carol Robert I, is mentioned with only one Roman-Catholic priest, which shows that the majority of the population was Orthodox.

In 1334 the deanery between the two Timis rivers is said to have had 18 priests, and in 1338, 16; the deanery between the Timis and Birzava appears during the same period with 20 Roman-Catholic priests. All those priests served exclusively at noblemen's courts; the localities in which those courts were sited were populated only by Orthodox Romanians: Sinmartin, Ciaves, Petroman, Berini, Sculia, Soca, Voiteg, Dolat, Tolvadia, Partos, Moravita...

Consequently, an analysis of the Registry of Papal Taxes shows that during a 5-year interval (1333-37) only five localities (two in Caransebes and three in Caras) had permanent Roman-Catholic parishes; other 10 parishes functioned intermittently, which means that the number of Roman-Catholic believers was not large enough to warrant the permanent presence of a priest; and finally, almost 90 parishes were attached to noblemen's courts.

What was the situation of the villages in this part of Romania? Concerning all of Transylvania, documents found in various archives highlight the existence of approximately 2,500-2,600 settlements by 1350; several hundreds such settlements--although the documents are far from reflecting the entire demographic picture--were in the Banat, and most of them were inhabited by an Orthodox, i.e., Romanian population.

This situation is in fact confirmed by the second document we cited, the so-called Alms Register of the Ipek Metropolitan Seat. In 1660 and 1666 Patriarch Maxim of Ipek sent emissaries "na Vlasku," that is to say, to Wallachia, as was called the plains area of the Banat, which was under Ottoman occupation. The amounts of money, livestock, and objects collected by the patriarch's representatives were recorded in the "register," and the monks also wrote down the names of the communes visited and of the people who made donations to earn blessings.

On the first voyage (1660), the patriarch's envoys crossed the Danube at Nova Palanka and called at 168 localities and three monasteries; on the second (1666), they visited 103 localities--some of which had figured on the first tour, too--all located in the Banat plains. Thus, at an interval of 6 years the patriarch's envoys collected charity from 271 villages alone in the Banat plains. It is therefore self understood that the respective localities had an Orthodox population, whom Patriarch Maxim's representatives addressed. The ethnic Romanian character of this population results, in point of fact, from the names recorded in the document. Thus, in 1666, the name of the priest of Biled was Nedelcu. The village Bulgarusul had Daba as priest, and among the donors we find the names Damian, Luca, Andrei, Dumitru, etc. The name of the priest of Dinias was Achim. Among the donors of Dolat was Damian, father of Marcu. The ruler of Jamul Mare was Ieremia, and at Jimbolia, next to the priest Vuia we find Stoian among the donors.

All the localities visited by the patriarch's envoys appear to have been well

organized, with priests and rulers, and the amounts of money and number of livestock and objects donated indicate that they did not suffer poverty. Hence, the Banat was neither depopulated nor a wilderness, and the native and majority population was Romanian. The Hapsburg rule established after 1718 implemented a harsh denationalization policy and settled the Banat with Swabian colonists. As a result of this policy, some of the localities cited in the Alms Register as Orthodox and Romanian lost their original ethnic character; the inhabitants of six whole villages (Biled, Bulgarus, Lovrin, Sacalaz, Teremia, etc.) were evacuated and replaced by colonists. However, the Hapsburg policy of denationalization and deracination of the Romanian villages --despite the harshness with which it was implemented--did not succeed in changing the predominantly Romanian character of the Banat, something that emerges from, among other things, a careful study of the work of Iacob Ehrler, written in 1774 and entitled *The Banat From Its Origins To The Present*, and from the *History of the Timis Banat*, written in 1780 by Francesco Grisellini. By the end of the 18th century, the Romanians made up 71-77 percent of the Banat, the Serbians 19-20 percent, the Germans 8-8.5 percent, and the Bulgarians and Hungarians 0.6-0.8 percent.

These are facts that no historian who respects the incontestable truths of his discipline can violate. Overcoming all historical vicissitudes, the Banat never ceased to be a Romanian territory throughout the centuries, as is verified by documents and as was sanctioned for all times by the historic decisions of 1918, the year of the Great Unification.

1/782
CSO:2700/163

'HORTHYST REACTIONARY' CLAIMS TO TRANSYLVANIA CRITICIZED

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian No 2, Feb 87 pp 23-25

[Article by Dr. Viorica Moisuc: "Revisionism--A Serious Threat to Good Neighborly Relations and International Peace"]

[Text] In 1929, the well-known Romanian statesman I.G.Duca, referring to the perpetual revisionist ferment in Horthyst Hungary and to the attempts, repeatedly made since 1918, to disrupt the political and territorial order based on the principle of nationalities, stressed: "Any talk of revising the peace treaties is today inadmissible. Indeed, those treaties were written in blood, not ink. They were forged by unparalleled sacrifices, not by abstract reasoning. The humanity that was sacrificed on all the battle fronts deemed it fit to give the world a new statute, based on the implementation of the principle of nationalities--a statute by virtue of which the nations can live in peace and prosperity for years on end. The humanity did not and cannot accede that this statute, which was obtained so laboriously and with such sacrifice should be overturned at each step in order to satisfy the ambitions and vengefulness of others... Any attempt to disrupt the peace of the world under the pretext of revising treaties will meet with the resolute resistance of the entire conscience of the civilized world."

Indeed, after the great national revolutionary changes of 1918, recognized and sanctioned in the peace treaties of Versailles, Saint-Germain, and Neuilly in 1919-20, consolidating peace and international stability on the basis of cooperation among equal states became the major issue of the entire "civilized world," as Duca stated. However, from the very first moment, some states chose to see the situation from a totally different angle, namely under the disguise of formulas which, while appealing to "justice" and "peace," were in fact aimed at annulling or modifying the statute of the European territory sanctioned in the peace treaties and returning to the old, obsolete political-administrative formations that in 1918 history had swept away. From the very beginning, revisionism--a proclamation of the need to revise or annul certain political, territorial, and military clauses of the peace treaties and the Pact of the League of Nations--was a destabilizing factor, an element of regression in international life, an obstacle to interstate cooperation, and a source of enmity among peoples. In the hands of powers harboring imperialist aspirations revisionism was a means of infiltrating certain geographical areas, undermining the national sovereignty of certain countries, and

preparing wide scope political actions designed to seize foreign territories and bring about the economic and political subordination of other peoples. Revisionism was synonymous with insecurity, instability, disruption of the atmosphere of peace and constructive work, discord, and undermining of the trust among states and nations.

Horthyst Hungary played an ignominious role in the vehement and dangerous promotion of the theses and primitive policy of revisionism. Today it is no longer a secret to anyone that the Horthysts were the primary revisionists and chauvinists in Europe. In the spring and summer of 1920 the Horthyst government staged an extensive political, diplomatic, and military action to restore, even partially, "St. Steven's Kingdom." The "Danubian Confederation" project (MAGAZIN ISTORIC No 2/1985, 9/1986), conceived by the Horthyst circles, sought to re-annex Transylvania and some parts of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, and to make Hungary the leading light of central Europe. Horthy did not shy away from anything in order to attain his objective: violating the recently signed Trianon peace treaty, he mobilized the Hungarian army and, waving the red cloth of the "Bolshevik threat," he appointed himself "defender and savior" of Europe from alleged invasion by the Soviet Red Army. The Hungarian parliament requested that "Europe should immediately mandate Hungary to organize the Carpathian resistance with its reconstituted army" (complete documentation of this issue is found in the archives of the French Foreign Ministry, series Europe 1918-29, Hungary, vol. 46,47,48). "Worried" by the "impotence" of Czechoslovakia and Romania to defend themselves against the "Bolshevik threat," Horthy declared himself ready to "save" them by... occupying them! Moreover, the magnates of Budapest combined those plans with the idea of bringing back the Hapsburgs on the Hungarian throne; the presumptive king of Hungary, Archduke Josef of Hapsburg, in September 1920 even had on hand the text of the "proclamation" he meant to issue the next day, after the event. The primary objectives of this "proclamation" were to re-annex Transylvania and Slovakia, and to rearm the Hungarian army for "defending Europe against the Bolshevik threat."

Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia reacted promptly and unequivocally to Hungary's aggressive plan to re-annex its former, lost territories. The Romanian and Czechoslovak foreign ministers, Take Ionescu and Eduard Benes, apprised Budapest, Paris, and London that they "would categorically oppose any attempt to change the borders;" the Romanian government stressed that it "firmly intends to conduct a policy of good relations toward Hungary," but that "this attitude will change if Hungary adopts a threatening position toward any of its neighbors, who will undoubtedly benefit from Romania's full support." In his turn, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vesnitch stated: "We will not tolerate any attempt to overturn the statute established under the treaties signed at the peace conference (of 1919-20)." (Archives of the Romanian Foreign Ministry, special files series, vol. 16)

In those circumstances, when the aggressive Horthyst plans emerged as a real threat to the peace and independence of some of the countries in the area--indirectly counting on the economic and political interests of certain leading circles in France and England, who hoped to expand their domination and influence in this part of Europe through the intermediary of Hungary--Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia formed an antirevisionist alliance, the Small

Entente, as a means of defending their national state, and peace and stability in central and south-east Europe. We must also recall the extremely important fact that this defensive alliance of security, cooperation, and peace was never closed before Hungary, but its membership was made conditional on observing the Trianon treaty and the obligation laid down in the preamble to the Pact of the League of Nations "to maintain international relations based on justice and honor, to closely observe the precepts of international law, henceforth recognized as the norm of governmental behavior, to make justice rule supreme, and to respect all the obligations devolving from treaties." All these lofty precepts of international ethics were, however, and remained in profound opposition to the objectives, means, and methods of the foreign policy conducted by the Hungarian leading circles. This was proven by countless events recorded in the following decades. Horthyst Hungary was a permanent hotbed of aggression, both through its own plans to invade various territories, and as an advance column of German imperialism and revisionism, and later as a Hitlerite tool wielded to isolate the antirevisionist states in the area, and to invade and dominate them.

In this connection, let us recall the important part played by Horthyst Hungary in international terrorism--a means widely used by the reactionary fascist and Hitlerite forces to undermine peace and security, liquidate the politicians who opposed them, and create an atmosphere of tension and panic. As is well known, Janka Puszta, in Hungary, was one of the main training centers for assassins meant to commit political attempts upon the order of the dictators Horthy, Mussolini, and Hitler. The trial of one of the most heinous crimes--the murder, in October 1934 in Marseilles, of King Alexander of Yugoslavia and of the French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou--revealed to the international public relevant facts and information concerning the threads of the vast international plots that were being woven in Horthyst Hungary (for details see Roger Colombani and Jean-Rene Laplayne, *La Mort d'Un Roi, La Verite sur l'Assassinat d'Alexandre de Yougoslavie*, Paris, 1971).

As an active member of the group of states that was preparing the revanchist war to invade foreign territories, Horthyst Hungary played a main role in the Czechoslovak tragedy of 1938-39. The criminal conspiracy between Hitler and Horthy to mutilate and invade Czechoslovakia and stage an armed attack on Romania in March 1939, is more than well known. In the summer of 1940, protected by the Hitlerite aegis, Hungary attained the objective for which it had been struggling for 22 years: the annexation of a large part of Transylvania, wrested from the Romanian people. On 10 July 1940 Horthy wrote to Hitler: "We burn with the desire to take revenge on the Romanians... We cannot abide 'Greater Romania.' Our historic task was to defend Europe from the East... But, without controlling the Carpathians we cannot fulfill this task. Consequently, control of the Carpathians is for us a vital problem. Transylvania is the only natural fortress of Europe, and it will be in Germany's interests to have that area in safe hands." (French Military Archive, Vincennes, 7 N-7032; pages not marked). As is known, what the "rescuers" brought with them to all the conquered territories was fear, terror, and monstrous crimes; they provided ample proof of what can befall the millenary civilization of a peaceful and just people under the heel of barbarism. (See *The Horthyst-Fascist Terror in North-West Romania*, September 1940-October 1944, Bucharest, 1985)

The arsenal of Horthyst revisionism used to restore old Hungary, awarded a special and very important role to the Catholic Church. Intolerant and exclusionist, the catholicism of old Hungary served as a tool of forced Magyarization in the hands of the Hungarian state. After 1918, taking advantage of the tolerance of the government in Bucharest, the Roman-Catholic Church became a sort of religious state within the Romanian state, whereby the sovereignty of the latter was undermined and ignored. Thanks to the Concordat signed in 1927 with the Vatican, the Hungarian revisionism and revanchism secured, through the church, strong support for their plans to undermine Romania's independence and sovereignty. Article 4 made the Concordat particularly dangerous, as it "left all the doors open to Rome for all the catholic citizens [of Romania] who sought there not religious support, but a lever in their political actions against Romania's current de jure situation" (see details in Onisfor Ghibu, *The Invalidity of the Concordat Between Romania and the Holy See*, Cluj, 1935). This was openly admitted even by Dr. Elmer Gyarfás, deputy chairman of the Magyar Party of Romania and of the Association of Romanian Magyars for the League of Nations: "We, the Transylvanian Catholics," he said, "have a mission here, at the foot of the Carpathian Mountains. We have been given our targets, have set the compass in our hearts, and those who are guarding us from sinking, are with us."

Nicolae Iorga wrote, with his famous incisiveness: "She [Rome]--not at all Latin in this respect--always threw us as prey to the Hungarians. Not being able to rely on any other dynasty than the Hapsburgs, Rome does not believe that it can make an Austro-Hungarian shepherd of the Church out of a heretic Czech or a schismatic Serb or Romanian... Therefore, Rome uses the old maps of Hungary to educate the child Otto [of Hapsburg]... Rome is the one that maintains to purely Magyar congresses those with the God-given mission to restore Hungary today, Austria tomorrow... (The Romanian Nation, 11 November 1941).

The patriotic and democratic forces spoke out without reservation for defending the national borders, peace, and security of the Romanian state. In the years when the fascist-revisionist peril was mounting, threatening the freedom and independence of the central and south-east European peoples, The PIR emerged as a mobilizing force of the entire nation in the struggle to defend the country and to preserve the solidarity with all the progressive forces of the world and with all those threatened by the aggressive Hitlerite-Horthyst plans. The documents of the communist party which called attention to the need to establish a broad coalition of social and political forces capable of ensuring the independence and sovereignty of the country, elicited a broad response among the Romanian public opinion. Led by the communists and other democratic and patriotic organizations, great demonstrations were held against fascism and revisionism in the years of the fourth decade. All this culminated in the great 1 May 1939 demonstration that rallied tens of thousands of participants under the banner "Defend the Country's Borders!"

Despite these truths known to the whole world, including people of good faith in Hungary, and Hungarian scientists, historians, and publicists who had nothing to do with Horthysm and its ignominious policy, there are still today extensions in time of the hostile, harmful propaganda that blossomed under the

Horthyist regime, a propaganda characterized by exaggerated Hungarian chauvinism and megalomania, denigration of the history of neighboring nations, negation of existing realities, and bellicose demands for former territories, all this through the totally unrealistic interpretation of the more distant or recent past and the perversion of the most obvious logic. The main traits of this entire propaganda, before and after the war, are perfect continuity in the deliberate distortion of history and similarity or even identity between the theses fabricated in willful disregard of the facts and in contradiction with them.

A most eloquent example of the poisoning of the new generation in Hungary is found in the history textbooks taught in Hungarian highschools (A Magyar Nemzet Története--History of the Hungarian Nation) in the period between the two world wars; the textbooks were written and planned with a view to exacerbating chauvinistic nationalism and denigrating the historical past of neighboring peoples: "The separation of the Romanians, Croats, Slovaks, and other nationalities from the Magyar state," claimed the 1931 edition of the textbook, "was not a re-annexation to the native land and mother-nation, and thus it was not the reparation of an injustice, but the forced utilization of the Hungarian territory that for centuries had offered them a haven..." (p 12)

The extensions in time of this current of profoundly harmful and dangerous ideas and views, so widely and consistently preached by and so dear to some inveterate reactionaries, can still today be found among a large number of Hungarian historians, publicists, and political scientists. Thus, in her work Magyarország Es A Kisantant A Arminas Evekben, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiado, 1968 (Hungary and the Small Entente of the 1930's), the historian Magda Adam strives, with the same incoherent pseudo-arguments, to show that the Trianon treaty "dismembered Hungary, which was an economic entity, into sections with unilateral economic structures, which began to compete against each other and were incapable of achieving genuine [economic] autonomy" (p 63). Negating the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Romanians and other nations oppressed by the double monarchy, Magda Adam labels as "imperialist" and "reactionary" any political action aimed at preserving the 1918 borders, and stability and peace in central and south-east Europe. By a curious reversal of concepts, we learn that preserving peace and security, and respecting the peace treaties was an "imperialist" policy, while revising them and restoring old Hungary's false "unity" was a "just" and "progressive" policy. Another variation on the same theme is the article written by Sandor Balogh, "The Hungarian Problem at the Paris Peace Conference (1946)," in KULPOLITIKA No 4/1985. Nothing new, just the same theses about the "injustice" done to Hungary under the Trianon treaty, the "annexation" of Transylvania, a "Hungarian territory," in Romania, and, of course, the "justice" done it in 1940, when part of Transylvania was "retroceded" to Hungary through "arbitration." Except that she either, at odds with historical truth, "forgets" something that is elementary and available to any researcher, namely that the 1947 peace treaty of Paris confirmed the Trianon Treaty, thus implicitly reconfirming the self-determination decisions of 1918 adopted by the Great National Assembly of Alba Iulia to forever unite Transylvania with the motherland, Romania.

The reasons for which various persons in the neighboring country are intensifying the propagation of new variations of the old theme: "the need to

restore old Hungary," are not difficult to understand. Those who are reviving old Horthyst ideas and slogans do so because they wish to undermine the friendship and cooperation between the Romanian and Hungarian peoples, to destabilize the situation in this area, and to compromise the relations of good neighborliness between Romania and Hungary. However, they are in complete conflict with the major interests of peace and socialism, friendship and cooperation, and security and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world. From here, from the Carpathians, the Romanians always stretched out a friendly hand to neighborly Hungary; and the Carpathians the Romanians will never leave, nor will they tolerate foreign rule or deliberate attacks on their multimillenary history.

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BOOK ON MILITARY HISTORY IN 14TH-16TH CENTURIES REVIEWED

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian Vol 1, 1987 pp 127-131

[Review by Constantin Cazanisteanu of book "Istoria Militara a Poporului Roman" [The Military History of the Romanian People], Vol II, Militara Publishing House, Bucharest, 1986, 638 pages; passages within slantlines published in italics]

[Text] The /treatise on the military history of the Romanian people/ occupies a prominent place among the monumental works on national history that have been published after the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party--the most fertile era in our entire millennia-long past, an era that bears the name of the party and state's brilliant leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Appearing under the aegis of the Romanian Commission on Military History and the Center for Studies and Research on Military History and Theory and benefiting from the coordination and collaboration of some of the most prestigious specialists in national historiography, the treatise constitutes a true scientific premise--not only because it represents the first work of this kind published in our country but also because, to a great extent, it has managed to respond to a requirement that is as necessary as it is urgent, laid before the Romanian historical front: the placing of the military phenomenon of the past in the context of national and world historical development. At the same time, the treatise on military history tries to find suitable solutions, the documentary and interpretative arguments corresponding to the historical truth, to the problems that mark the path of the evolution of the Romanian people and state.

The second volume of the treatise on the military history of the Romanian people, published in the first part of last year, is an eloquent and convincing illustration from all these viewpoints. It covers the period lying between the middle of the 14th century and the middle of the 16th century. That era was the stage of the full flourishing of the medieval Romanian state and civilization. At that time, in the wide Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area, Romanian society, developing in harmonious and unitary structures, asserted itself strongly in stable and vigorous state frameworks, whose power for self-sacrifice derived its energy from a long tradition of political organization that went back to the Dacian state. The political structures evolved upwardly on the solid foundation of tradition, constituting the framework for the complex

medieval state organization. In the 14th century, along with the old voivodeship of Transylvania, the formation of the domains of all /Walachia/ and all /Moldavia/ marked the end of the process of establishing the medieval Romanian state, a state formed and affirmed within the natural ethnic limits of the medieval Romanian world. In that era, the head of the Romanian state was called the "great voivode and sole ruler reigning by the grace of God," with the title indicating, in medieval political language, the authority of an independent /great voivode/ without any temporal subordination. The Romanian rule, the hereditary monarchy, was based on estates, convened in local or general assemblies, with a decisive role in implementing the state's policy, including in selecting the ruler. The law of the land, the customs of the country, and the Orthodox religion created the de facto framework for state life. Along with the court, the other political and religious institutions gave to the medieval Romanian state the stability needed for enduring and facing the serious adversities of the time. All these aspects are thoroughly analyzed in the pages of the volume, they coming to explain the nature and characteristics of the Romanian military structures in the Middle Ages.

The Romanian military organization in the 14th-16th centuries and the classic military structure had the **GRAND ARMY** [in boldface] as a characteristic element. In that era, as before, it represented Romanian society's response to the threats of the great powers of the time, capable of devastating invasions. The treatise points out that the institutionalization of the "Grand Army" occurred gradually in the 14th century, with this original military organism operating, at the turn of the next century, under the circumstances of the effort to defend the southern, Danubian-Pontic border from the invasion and expansion of the Ottoman Empire.

The operation of the institution of the "Grand Army" throughout the 15th century and the general defensive war of the Romanian people against Ottoman expansion was due to the characteristics of the social, political, and economic evolution of Romanian society at that time. As a synthetic expression of it, the "Grand Army" reflected the prevalence of the free peasantry, possessing inherited land, capable of coping with the military effort and its equipping according to the requirements of the time.

Directly involved in the free existence of the country, the Romanian peasantry, like the gentry, was present under the court's banners in all the campaigns of the era. The soldiers, the courtiers, and the Transylvanian princes and voivodes constituted the basis of the "Grand Army." An institution that continued in the Romanian countries even after it had fallen into disuse in the rest of Europe, it represented a true Romanian model of military organization through the fighting of the whole populace. Along with it, the systems of fortifications were developed, which, resting on the rim of the Carpathians, divided the territory into the three big defensive fronts: Danubian-Pontic, eastern, and western. Through Transylvania's economic complementarity with Walachia and Moldavia, the outfitting, equipping, and provisioning of the armies could be done at the parameters of the era, with the unity of the three Romanian countries in war being strengthened at the same time.

The viability of the Romanian military system in the Middle Ages--shown so many times in that period of historical glory--was possible due to its structure and a harmonious military doctrine. Having as a supreme goal the defense of the independence of the Romanian state and the integrity of the ancestral land, the military doctrine of the era generated an original defensive strategy with conspicuous notes of historical tradition. The rising of the whole populace in battle to defeat the invading foreign armies--superior in numbers and equipment--constituted the basis for brilliant military victories that ensured, immediately and later, the continuation of the Romanian state. "The heroic battles fought under the leadership of Mircea the Old, Stephen the Great, Michael the Brave--who achieved for the first time, in 1600, the union of the three Romanian provinces--and other voivodes who did not hesitate to give their lives to defend the ancestral land," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, points out, "occupy a place of honor in the great epic of the struggle to develop and preserve the national being of our people, for freedom and independence."²

In the 14th-16th centuries, the Romanian people, in their state organization in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area, had to deal with converging, often simultaneous threats from true superpowers of the era: the khanate of the Golden Horde, the kingdom of Poland, the kingdom of Hungary, the German Holy Roman Empire, and, with a particular influence and duration, the Ottoman Empire. A principal and guarantor of the great route of international trade, the lower Danube, and thereby a party deeply interested in ensuring the freedom of navigation in the Black Sea, the Romanian people, defending their own independence, assumed, objectively, the historical mission of defending European civilization at one of the gateways of the continent. From the first, the Romanian state, organizing the Romanian people's great struggle for freedom, conceived this mission of international scope as part of the European community's effort against Ottoman expansion. However, the evolution of feudalism and the conflicts between the national states, set up at that time, prevented a concerted European effort to block Turkish expansionism. Despite this unfavorable international situation, the Romanians resisted successfully, with Romanian state existence continuing even after the Ottoman Empire had invaded southeastern Europe, breaking up strong states, they themselves with ambitions of expansion and domination.

The state continuity, the full internal freedom, the securing of the evolution of national culture, and the regulation of international relations, especially with the Ottoman Empire, were due to the brilliant policy and the military effort of the Romanian people. The Romanian countries remained the only free Christian powers on the political map of southeastern Europe in the face of the Ottoman Empire and its Muslim vassal, the Tatar Khanate of Crimea.

Based on the method of historical materialism and enriched by the latest contributions, the second volume of "The Military History of the Romanian People" includes the valuable findings of Romanian and foreign historiography referring to the 14th-16th centuries. A skillful synthesis, this volume also has as a basis the revolutionary outlook of the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, regarding the historical past and the exceptional cognitive and educational value of the millennia-long

experience of our people in the struggle to defend their being, freedom, and unity. "In devising the ways of development, any people," says Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, "especially a people like the Romanian people, who have a rather long history," cannot but "start from its historical past and take into account its traditions." In this regard, "tradition, the reliance on tradition, can be--and is--an indispensable factor in progress. Nothing can be built by ignoring the past."³

At the same time, in preparing the volume, they appealed to the contributions of the pioneers in the writing of medieval military history, a specialized branch of the study of the past. Supported by the pioneering work of Gheorghe Sincai, the founder of Romanian scientific historiography, medieval military studies gained prominence through Nicolae Balcescu, the first modern military historian. His outlook is illustrated by the memorable profession of faith: "I preferred to work with the military institutions before all others, because these institutions are the most remarkable ones that our ancestors had, because they created the country's greatness and power in a period of 4 centuries; finally, because I am convinced that once the country of the Romanians gets the status that it deserves among the peoples of Europe, this will be due more to the revival of its old military institutions." Along with the prospective outlook on history, on military history in particular, his contributions referring to Romanian armed might in the Middle Ages had a significant role in the promotion of studies on military history. The direction set forth by Nicolae Balcescu was brilliantly represented by Bogdan Petriceicu-Hasdeu. The development and improvement of the military organization and the course of events also found their place in the synthesis of Romanian history by A.D. Xenopol. Through exceptional contributions to deciphering the military history of the Romanian people, historians of the greatest prestige--Nicolae Iorga, C.C. Giurescu, Gheorghe I. Bratianu, or Academician General Radu R. Rosetti--then joined them.

The process of objectively presenting the military history in the 14th-16th centuries in the second volume of the treatise on the military history of the Romanian people always considered the army-society relationship in our people's evolution, the aim being to go beyond the traditional view of treating the military past, an approach known as the "history-battle" formula. Aware of the fact that a complete and complex understanding of the military realities of the era to which they refer can be achieved only by continually relating them to the whole of society, the authors of the volume tried to describe the military phenomenon in all its facets. The deciphering of its components, its general principles, and its integration into the social mechanism was the constant goal of the scientific effort contained in the pages of the volume. However, they did not ignore the reconstruction of the correct sequence of events, to which suitable space was given for a clear understanding of the facts and the course of the historical processes. Under the sign of the same methodology, they tried to go beyond the limited views imposed by the older, obsolete concepts of the army or the art of war. The historical analysis of the military phenomenon contained in the new synthesis utilizes the basic idea according to which war is the continuation of politics by other means. Thus, on the basis of the data on the social and economic organization existing in

the Middle Ages, the content of the military structures was reconstructed and then their operation during the military confrontations was covered.

Another methodological requirement, springing practically from objective reality, to which the authors completely subordinated themselves was that of presenting as a unit the national military history in the era that is the subject of the volume. Going beyond the old idea of presenting Romanian medieval history separately, by countries, they approached in a revolutionary, innovative spirit, imparted to scientific research by our party's secretary general, the entire evolution of the military phenomenon in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area in an integrating view. At the same time, a special effort was made to relate Romanian military history to European history, with an emphasis on our people's remarkable contribution to the defense of European civilization.

At the same time, the second volume of Romanian military history reflects the evolution of the medieval military structures in relation to the determining economic, social, and political factors and the quantitative and qualitative changes on the plane of world military history, in general, and on the plane of military history on a central and southeastern European level, in particular, describing, at the same time, in the section on chronological events, the operation of the Romanian military organism and the fulfillment of the domestic and foreign military function of the state.

The first chapter represents a synthetic analysis of the economic, social, and political structures and of the evolution of Romanian society from the 14th century to the middle of the 16th century; the objectives of the Romanian state and the characteristics of our policy in the context of international relations are pointed out at the end of the chapter. On this basis, the Romanian military organization of the period, characterized by the institutionalization of the "Grand Army," was reconstructed in Chapter 2, with details being given regarding the methods of recruitment and mobilization, the Army's structure, the outfitting, equipping, and material supplying, the evolution of the military engineering work on the territory, the Army's training, and the preparation of the population for defense. The gains made in this stage within the Romanian military doctrine of defending the homeland through the fighting of the whole populace are defined at the end of the chapter.

Chapters 3-7, devoted to the dynamics of the military processes, cover the consolidation of Walachia, Moldavia, and the voivodeship of Transylvania during the confrontations with the kingdom of Hungary and the first battles with the Ottomans, up to the middle of the 15th century, illustrated by the great military commanders like Vladislav I, Dobrotita, Stefan I, Mircea the Great, Alexandru the Good, Dan II, and Iancu of Hunedoara. The stages of intense affirmation of the Romanian countries under Mircea the Great and Iancu of Hunedoara and the dramatic confrontations with the Ottoman Empire to defend the lower Danube and the northern part of the Balkan Peninsula, confrontations with a European role in impeding the Muslim invasion toward the center of the continent, especially through the victorious defense of Belgrade (1456), are underscored.

A new historical stage formed around the military policy for defending state integrity and freedom in the era dominated by prominent personalities like Stephen the Great, Vlad Tepes, and Radu of Afumati, from the forces of the conqueror of Constantinople, Mehmed II, his successor, Bayezid II, or the king of Poland, John Albert.

Chapter 7 is devoted to the political and military events in the first half of the 16th century, marked by Petru Rares' struggle for Romanian political, military, and state unity.

Chapter 8 contains a synthesis of the military history of the medieval peasant revolts in the voivodship of Transylvania, notable for distinguishing the peasantry's own, original military organization and the value of these great social uprisings as a means of expression of the political vitality of the Romanian people within the Carpathian curve.

On the one hand, the final two chapters sum up the 200 years of heroic struggle for freedom, for the distinct survival of the Romanian state, and, on the other hand, they describe the level attained by Romanian military thought and art in the era of glory of the "Grand Army." The national and European dimension of the Romanian effort, thanks to which the Romanian countries managed to continue as an unmistakable and prestigious presence on the political map of Europe, is underscored.

The volume's basic idea is that of the exemplary value of the struggle of a people who, faced with invading expansionist forces, managed to safeguard its freedom, its own institutions, its culture, and its spirituality--an exemplary value that must be brought out in detail in all its implications and consequences, in accordance with the domestic and foreign realities of the time, so that it may thus be integrated into the historical perspective, representing an authentic trait and a source of strength of the current Romanian strategy.

Like the other volume of the treatise on the military history of the Romanian people, the second one is accompanied by a general bibliography and a bibliography according to chapters, by a glossary of the specialized terms, and by a general index. The illustrative material--the photographs, drawings, and sketches--and the cartographic material, very abundant and very sensibly selected and realized, constitute an integral part of the exposition, exemplifying, detailing, and supplementing the text. They preferred to take everything that was illustrative from the valuable treasury of figurative representations of the era, carefully preserved in the holdings of the Museum of History of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Museum of Moldavia in Iasi, the Museum of Art in Bucharest, the Directorate of National Cultural Heritage, the Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest, and the Print Room of the Library of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, possessing many of the illustrations included in the volume.

The production of this second volume was guided by the firm belief of its compilers in the educational value of history, pointed out clearly by the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, who said: "How would a people really feel who does not know its past, does not know its history, does not

prize and does not honor this history? Would it not be like a child who does not know his parents and feels like a stranger in the world."⁴

And the second volume of "The Military History of the Romanian People," in the era of glory of the "Grand Army" in the 14th-16th centuries, is a true hymn devoted to the struggle of our ancestors for freedom, from which their descendants can extract valuable lessons and can find models to follow. The slogan on the Romanian military banners--"True bravery will conquer"--under whose folds countless heroes fought and sacrificed themselves, also contains, in its essence, our people's desire for freedom and their determination to spare no effort and to make any sacrifice to defend the independence and unity of their homeland.

The second volume of the treatise on military history adds--with scientific competence and integrity, with boundless love for the ancestral land and its permanent inhabitants, as hardened by the cruelties of history as they were fearless, and for their endless struggle for a free and united life--a new and enduring page to the Romanian people's chronicle filled with deeds.

FOOTNOTES

1. The coordinating commission is composed of: Colonel General Vasile Milea; Academician Stefan Pascu; Lieutenant General Dr Ilie Ceausescu, chief coordinator; University Prof Dr Stefan Stefanescu; Major General Constantin Antip; University Lecturer Dr Mircea Musat; Colonel Dr Gheorghe Tudor; Colonel Dr Florian Tuca; and Major Dr Mihail E. Ionescu.
2. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate" [Romania on the Way to Constructing the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society], Vol 13, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1977, p 35.
3. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate," Vol 12, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1976, p 464.
4. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul desavirsirii constructiei socialiste" [Romania on the Way to the Completion of Socialist Construction], Vol 1, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1968, p 463.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

REPORTAGE ON VISIT BY ALGERIA'S TALEB IBRAHIMI

Met by Dizdarevic

LD271940 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1422 GMT
27 Mar 87

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Mar (TANJUG)--Dr Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, minister of foreign affairs of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, arrived today on an official, friendly visit to our country at the invitation of Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs.

The visitor from the Nonaligned Arab country was greeted at Belgrade's Surcin Airport by Raif Dizdarevic and officials of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

Official talks between the two foreign ministers, with the participation of their aides, will open at the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs tomorrow.

According to information sources, Yugoslav-Algerian talks will be oriented primarily toward bilateral relations, but the two sides will also discuss the most topical questions of international political and the economic scene. Special attention will be devoted to the present situation in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, as well as to the activities in the Nonaligned Movement.

Later this afternoon Minister Ibrahimi will be received by Sinan Hasani, president of the SFRY presidency, at the palace of the federation in New Belgrade. He is also expected to be received by and have talks with Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, upon the latter's return from Bonn.

Minister Ibrahimi will end his visit to our country on Sunday, 29 March.

Meets with Hasani

LD280721 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2033 GMT 27 Mar 87

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, 27 March (TANJUG)--Yugoslav State Presidency President Snan Hasani this afternoon received Algerian Foreign Minister Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi who is on an official visit to Belgrade.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the successful development of Yugoslav-Algerian relations, based on traditional friendship, closeness and trust. They expressed mutual readiness to further promote bilateral cooperation, especially in the sphere of economy.

Hasani and Ibrahimi also discussed a number of topical international questions and underscored the importance and role of the movement and policy of nonalignment in efforts invested in strengthening peace, disarmament, security and equality-based cooperation in the world.

Discusses Nonaligned Concerns

LD290228 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1707 GMT 28 Mar 87

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, 28 March (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia and Algeria wish to continue the promotion of friendly cooperation in all areas on lasting and long-standing bases, Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Raif Dizdarevic and Algerian Foreign Minister Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, who is on a three-day official visit to Yugoslavia, set out during today's official talks.

The talks, which lasted four hours, were conducted in a very friendly atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual understanding, as reported.

Prospects for promoting economic cooperation, cooperation in culture, information and other areas, were especially considered during the talks. It was said that favourable possibilities existed for the promotion of such mutually beneficial-cooperation.

Dizdarevic and Ibrahimi devoted particular attention to topical international questions. The talks mainly focused on the activities of Nonaligned countries, preparations for the ministerial conference of Mediterranean Nonaligned states, the meeting of the Middle East committee of nine Nonaligned countries, and the implementation of the conclusions of the Eighth Nonaligned Summit in Harare.

Dizdarevic and Ibrahimi positively assessed the activities of Nonaligned countries after the Harare conference. They underscored that the Nonaligned countries have undertaken several concrete important actions following the summit and that the activity of the Nonaligned Movement has not waned after Harare. The ministerial meeting of the Coordination Bureau in Georgetown was assessed positively in this context. Both sides indicated the need for such activity of the Nonaligned to continue in the future.

The two foreign ministers' associates met separately to exchange views on bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and Algeria, the situation in the Mediterranean, preparations for the ministerial conference of Nonaligned countries of the Mediterranean, on the Middle East and other questions from the domain of the activities of Nonaligned countries.

Departs for Paris

LD291035 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1050 GMT
29 Mar 87

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 29 March (TANJUG)--Dr Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, minister of foreign affairs of Algeria, today ended his official, friendly visit to Yugoslavia and left Belgrade for Paris by air.

At Surcin Airport the Algerian foreign minister was seen off by Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and officials of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

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CSO: 2800/178

ZAGREB VETERANS AGAINST SESELJ'S PUBLIC APPEARANCE

AU010840 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 87 p 6

[P. Arsenic report: "Decisively Against Deformations"]

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 17 March--At the session it held today the Presidium of the Zagreb City War Veterans Council energetically supported the greater involvement of the veterans' organization in opposing counter-revolution and distortions in society, and expressed unanimous support for the letter sent by veterans from Medvescak commune in which they expressed "great concern about overt hostile attacks on the unity of Yugoslavia and the achievements of the people's war of liberation and the socialist revolution."

Members of the presidium of the Zagreb War Veterans Organization reacted particularly sharply to the announced possibility that Vojislav Seselj may soon attend the forum of the Sociological Society at the Zagreb faculty of philosophy and unanimously adopted the following statement: "This hero city cannot allow this visit and welcome and enable Vojislav Seselj to take part in this public forum, because he is a confirmed enemy of socialist and self-managing Yugoslavia who slings mud at the most precious achievements of this society." The delegates of the presidium of the Zagreb War Veterans Organization will maintain this view at the city SAWP conference where they will ask that Seselj not be allowed to appear publicly.

[Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 20-21 March on page 8 carries a 750-word report on the meeting of sociologists held in Zagreb on 20 March to discuss the "Social Structure of Socialism." The report says that "just as was predicted by war veterans who recommended that Seselj should not be welcomed at this meeting, Seselj used this forum to 'attack' the theses contained in Kardelj's book 'Directions of the Political System's Development.'"]

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CSO: 2800/178

TANJUG REPORTS ON SESSION OF LCY ARMY ORGANIZATION

LD271027 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1444 GMT 26 Mar 87

[Text] Belgrade, 26 March (TANJUG)--The Sixth Session of the Committee of the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army was held in Belgrade today. At the session the participants discussed topical ideological questions of further development of the army within the framework of the realization of the medium-term plan and tasks of communists.

It was pointed out that, despite limited material funds, significant results have been achieved in the development and production of arms and military equipment. This has been done by relying on our own capacities, promoting leadership and commanding, combat training and other areas of army development.

The committee positively assessed the contribution of science and the role of scientific work in developing the army and at the same time pointed out further tasks of communists and officers on promoting scientific and research work and a more comprehensive application of modern scientific achievements in modernizing the army.

In the conclusions, as reported, particular stress is laid on the need to increase efforts on socialist education of young people, moreover since recently it has been felt that certain negative ideological trends in society also have an impact on young men going to the army.

The combat power and the development of the army must in the future as well be based on the principle of a uniform integration of ideo-political and moral fortitude, combat readiness and a high degree of technical equipment with modern weaponry.

The committee adopted a program for marking the 50th anniversary of Comrade Tito's inauguration as head of the LCY. The marking of this jubilee in the army will be of a working nature and will take place during the entire year. The aim is to contribute in this way as well to a more comprehensive illumination of the historical role of Comrade Tito at all the stages of our struggle and that by relying on his work all the fundamental values of our revolution are preserved and further developed.

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SAWPY EDUCATION COMMISSION DISCUSSES ILLITERACY

AU021550 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Mar 87 pp 1, 3

[V. Ninkovic-Dzafo and E. Bogdanovic report: "Many Universities and--Many Illiterates"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 March--Illiteracy in Yugoslavia is the "product" of our time and our contemporary activities are to be "blamed" for it... This was a unanimous conclusion reached after the discussion at the session of the Presidium of SAWPY Federal Conference on "Directions of social activities in eliminating illiteracy and improving the basic education of adults," which were presented for a discussion by the Commission for Education of the Council of Yugoslav Trade Unions and the corresponding Section of the SAWPY Federal Conference.

Today 12 percent of Yugoslavs are illiterate and every 10th citizen over the age of 10 is illiterate, said Dr Bozidar Colakovic in his introductory speech. It is defeating that a country with 19 universities, 8 academies of sciences and arts, a country with above the average number of students, masters of arts, doctors of sciences, academicians, and vast cultural and artistic achievements in the world, has such an appalling picture regarding general literacy.

The fact that in Slovenia only one percent of population is illiterate and that in Serbia a very successful campaign to eradicate illiteracy is under way, cannot improve the extremely "gloomy" picture for the whole country, said Nenad Bucin.

According to Bajram Seljami the data from Kosovo, which has the highest percentage of illiteracy (18 percent), shows that "some progress has been made" (illiteracy dropped from 272,000 in 1971 to 198,000 in 1981) but that new "sources" of illiteracy have "emerged" due to the attrition in the numbers of young people (particularly girls) in primary schools.

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BRIEFS

ORLANDIC IN MEXICO--Mexico, 30 Mar (TANJUG)--Marko Orlandic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who at the invitation of the Unified Socialist Party of Mexico attended the party's Third Congress, met last night Pablo Gomez, secretary general of the party. At the just ended congress Gomez was reelected secretary general with the task of realizing the congress resolution of forming the New Socialist Party of Mexico by the end of October this year. In a detailed and friendly talk in which Hilberto Rinkon Galjardo [name as published], member of the Central Committee and party secretary for international relations, also took part, Orlandic and Gomez exchanged information about the activities of the Unified Socialist Party of Mexico and the LCY. They both emphasized the importance of a continual dialogue between the two parties, exchange of experiences, and cooperation. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Mar 87 p 5 AU] /12858

HOSTILE PROPAGANDA SENTENCES--Rijeka, 1 Apr (TANJUG)--The Council of Judges of the Rijeka District Court today sentenced Marko Petric, 19, from Klagenfurt, to 18 months imprisonment for hostile propaganda, and Sime Susic, 41, from the island of Rab, for failure to report preparations for a criminal act. In the evening of 21 December last year, in the centre of Rijeka, Petric distributed leaflets of hostile content, aimed at overthrowing the sociopolitical system of Yugoslavia. Owing to quick intervention of the organs of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs and citizens, Petric was taken to custody on the same evening. Sime Susic, who came to Yugoslavia with Petric in October last year, was sentenced to 5 months in prison, because he knew what was being prepared, as well as the content of the leaflets, but did not report it. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1553 GMT 1 Apr 87 LD] /12858

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